Chinese Art & Culture

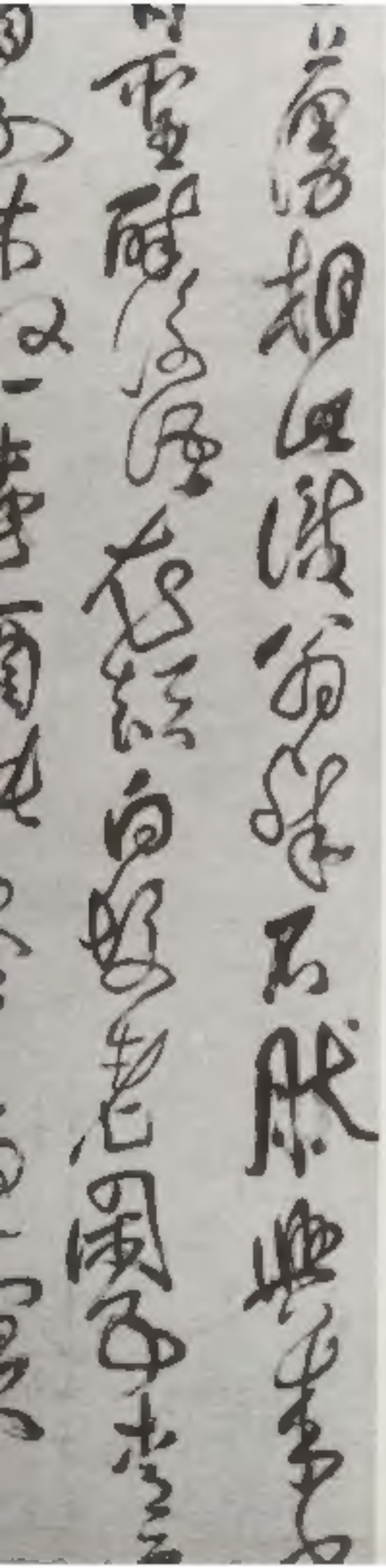
Robert L. Thorp
Richard Ellis Vinograd

Chinese Art & Culture is a refreshingly clear look at the oldest and most productive continuous artistic tradition on earth. From 7,000-year-old Neolithic pot-making and jade-carving cultures to contemporary artists' installation, video, and performance pieces, this engrossing survey embraces the richness and complexity of Chinese art.

In all the right ways, this is a different kind of book on Chinese art. Departing from the predictable narration of dynasties and styles, Robert L. Thorp and Richard Ellis Vinograd present art as a cultural expression of societal expectations, politics, material culture, belief systems, and wider fields of culture. They emphasize works of ancient art and an literature found in their original archaeological settings. Where that is not feasible, they reconstruct interconnections among individual pieces and with their contexts of production. To the broad cultural picture, they add considerations of the material of which an object is made and the distinctive techniques used to make it. Thus an early Shang vase is shown as the product of a new advance in bronze technology that enabled control of copper and glazes and as a reflection in its shape of the lingering taste of the Early Shang emperors for things Tibetan.

Chinese art is one of the most active and notable areas of cultural scholarship today. Thorp and Vinograd are leaders in a generation of scholars who are reexamining long-held conceptions about Chinese art—for example, the notion that Chinese art has essential and permanent characteristics and the idea that Chinese art and culture were untouched by outside influences. Just as important, the authors give popular religions, and craft arts their just due. In this thoroughly—some of the objects have almost never been pictured before—and enhanced with special topic sidebars, this long-awaited book answers the needs of students, collectors, and lovers of Chinese art for a work that is current in approach and scholarship and is at the same time reader-friendly.

358 illustrations, including 125 plates in full color; 8 maps; timeline



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To Karen and to Meghan

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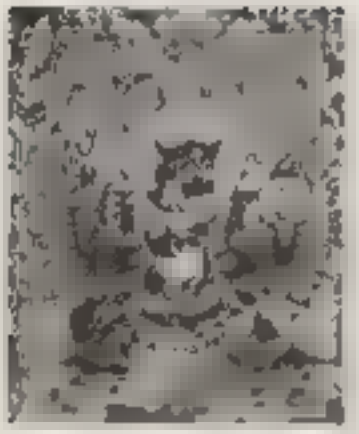
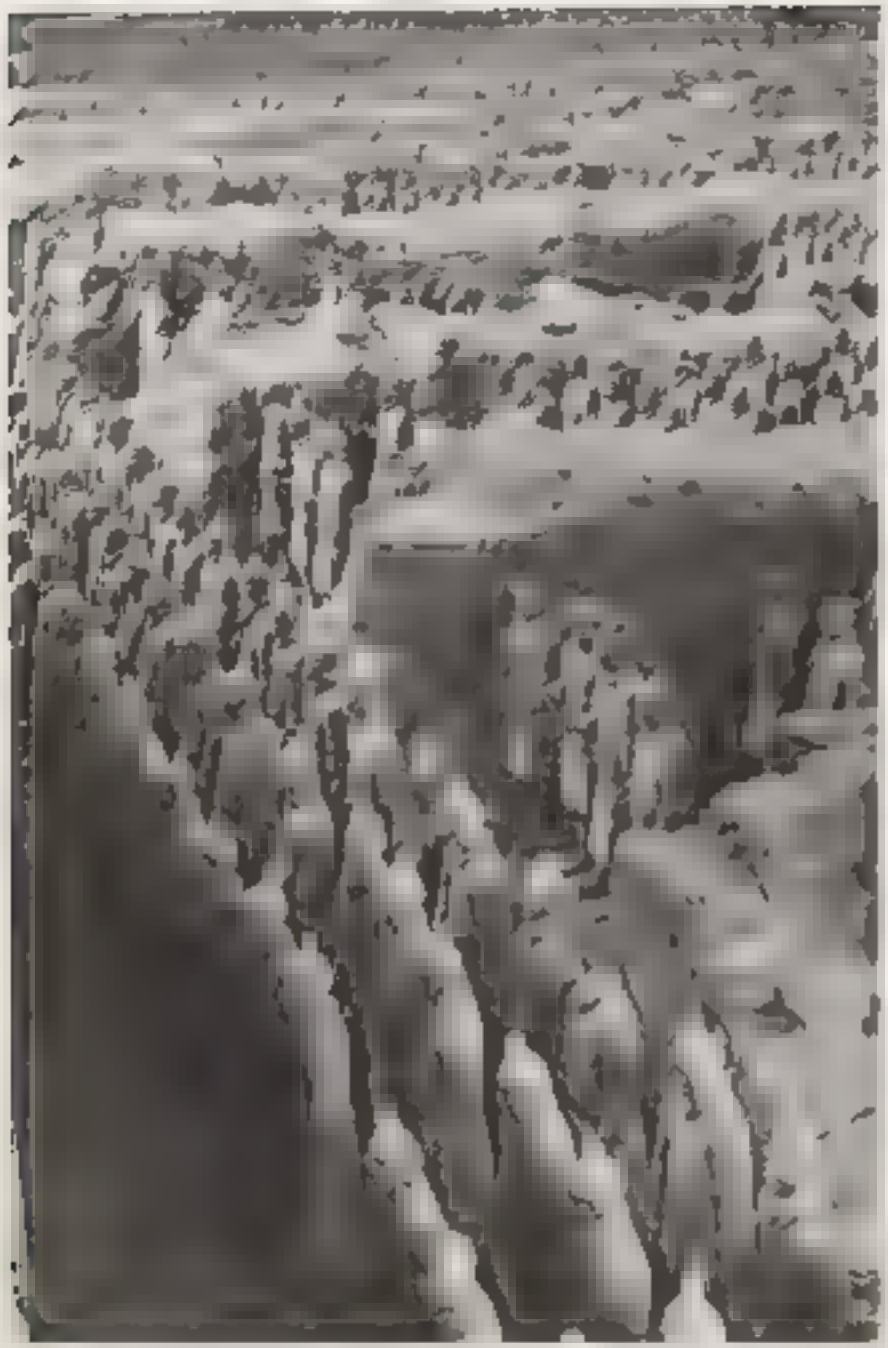


INTRODUCING CHINESE ART AND CULTURE



Macroregions of China

[illegible] nearly [illegible] 93 per cent of the population [illegible] in China proper, with only 5 per cent residing [illegible]

each other at their margins by natural barriers, principally mountain ranges (see map above).

[illegible] internal range of climate and physical terrain and population. Leaving aside **Manchuria**—the three northeastern provinces of Liaoning, Jilin, and Heilongjiang—there are nine macroregions. **North China** stretches from the approximate line of the Great Wall south to the [illegible] and from the eastern foothills of the [illegible] range to the [illegible]. [illegible] is dominated by the Yellow River. During the [illegible] the North China plain [illegible] between the Taihang Mountains and the Shandong massif [illegible] Henan and Shandong. This macroregion [illegible] to the [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

Northwest China comprises the loess [illegible] highlands of the upper Yellow River and its major tributaries, as well as [illegible] the Fen River [illegible]. This macroregion is well defined on the south by the Qinling range and on the east by the Taihang, but is more arbitrarily defined to the north and west, where it merges into the steppe and desert [illegible] Mongolia, Ningxia, and Gansu. The Wei River valley of present-day Shaanxi supported the earliest of ancient capitals, starting with the Western Zhou [illegible] near the Feng River southwest of modern Xi'an, and continuing through the [illegible] Han [illegible] the [illegible] and the Tang [illegible]. [illegible] (see maps pages 56, 124) played a decisive role in ancient and medieval times.

The drainage of the Yangzi, [illegible] river, also called the Changjiang, "long river," can be defined as four macroregions. The **Upper Yangzi** macroregion corresponds in large part to modern Sichuan ("four rivers") province, a high basin rimmed with mountainous terrain on all sides. At least since the establishment of the first empire in 221 BCE, this macroregion has been one of the

[illegible] **Middle Yangzi**

[illegible] that occupies the central reaches of the river's drainage, approximately the modern provinces of Hubei and Hunan [illegible] Lake Dongting [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Upper Yangzi [illegible] by the [illegible]. The **Lower Yangzi** macroregion corresponds approximately to the [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. A fourth macroregion, the **Gan Yangzi**, [illegible] drainage of the Gan River, a major [illegible] [illegible].

Along the coast and farther south are three other macroregions. The **Southeast Coast**, comprising parts of Zhejiang and all of Fujian, cut off from the interior by mountainous terrain [illegible] **Lingnan**, the [illegible] West River and [illegible] Guangdong and Guangxi [illegible] and [illegible] **Yungui**, the plateau of the southwest [illegible] Yunnan [illegible] from the [illegible] the north began to move into these southern macroregions [illegible], and this immigration continued throughout much of later history. These regions not only support distinctive dialects [illegible] languages such as Cantonese; they are also the homelands of many of the fifty [illegible] officially recognized national minorities, including such large groups as the Zhuang and Miao.

Macroregions held political, economic, and cultural importance throughout China's history, but other kinds of geographical dynamics involving urban centers operated at various times as well. In early China until the late first millennium CE, the most important geopolitical axis was from west to east, as political capitals alternated between the strategic [illegible] region in the northwest and

[illegible] Changan [illegible] which was closer to people [illegible] centre. Beginning with the period of division [illegible] Nanjing [illegible] became increasingly important as the capital [illegible] south. Political [illegible] were [illegible] Nanjing [illegible] and later [illegible] southward as the centre of [illegible] economic [illegible] movements. Starting with the end of the [illegible] dynasty [illegible] of Beijing in the far north as the capital [illegible] political centre in the [illegible] century. [illegible] of naturally sedentarized former nomadic peoples, Beijing continued as a northern political capital under the Mongol Yuan [illegible] fourteenth-century and thereafter [illegible] the enduring importance of the northern heartlands and other [illegible] in later Chinese history. [illegible] Hangzhou in the southeast became a capital city for the refugee Southern Song regime (1127–1279) in the twelfth century, and Nanjing, briefly a capital in the early Ming fourteenth–fifteenth centuries, continued as a secondary capital throughout the dynasty. Other major cities in the southeast, such as Suzhou, Yangzhou, and Shanghai, were primarily commercial and cultural centers, as were both Hangzhou and Nanjing. These cities were advantageously located near water transport or other trade routes, especially in the network of rivers, lakes, and canals in the Grand Canal system that links southeastern and northeastern China. This was beneficial to the commercial prosperity of southeastern China.

For administrative purposes, the contemporary map of China (map, pages 12–13) is divided into first-, second-, and third-order units.

First-order divisions

(1) Provinces. Large-scale administrative units or units akin to provinces have been in existence since at least the time of the First Emperor of China (221–210 BCE), when thirty-six commanderies were established. The modern-day provinces of China differ somewhat from their immediate predecessors of the Qing (1644–1911) and Republican (1912–1949) periods, although some of their names extend back to early periods. Today there are twenty-three provinces.

(2) In addition, much territory is now [illegible] as five Autonomous Regions, areas where sizable [illegible] minority populations, for example, Mongolians, Uighurs, Zhuang, Mongols, and Tibetans, [illegible] predominated.

(3) Cities, both large [illegible] centrally administered units [illegible] the same way as the provinces [illegible] autonomous regions. These cities are [illegible] Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai, Chongqing, and Nanjing.

Second-order divisions. Although various [illegible] have been adopted at the first level, the second-order unit in the [illegible] administrative system predates even the [illegible] of the First Emperor. The [illegible] most old Chinese historical [illegible] are [illegible]

Third-order divisions. Most administrative units are named after a [illegible] place, but a city, village, or natural feature within a county.

CHINESE LANGUAGES

Chinese is a language family. The spoken languages or speech of various regions in English by custom called dialects are actually more accurately considered separate languages. Thus common speech, Fujianese, Hakka, and Cantonese are quite [illegible] are adaptations of a language called Mandarin (guanhua) [illegible] because it was since the [illegible] the spoken languages of Beijing, Nanjing, Shanghai, Fujian, Taiwan, and many other regions are [illegible] languages. Speakers of [illegible] Mandarin [illegible] common are the gap between them is as great as that between speakers of [illegible] and Italian. In recent [illegible] Mandarin has been [illegible] standard modern Korean, or Mandarin spoken [illegible]

The regional and historical diversity of spoken language makes it [illegible] more important. The earliest political [illegible] imposed efforts at script standardization. Cons were mandated by the founding emperor of Qin, the China's first imperial dynasty, and were a central instrument of political control. Perhaps no factor was more important to long-term political and cultural unity than the common

written language accessible to the educated whatever their spoken language or dialect. Various forms of official scripts linked writing with political authority, along with its basic communicative functions. Writing was associated with elite status and cultural authority as well, since only a small minority of the population was educated in the classical literary and philosophical texts that were the prerequisite curriculum for civil service examinations and prestigious official careers. That base of classical literacy expanded over time with increased commercial opportunities and more widespread competition for official positions. The development of printing technologies in the late first millennium [illegible] also allowed wider distribution and dissemination of writing. A lower level of functional literacy that allowed comprehension of shop signs, primers, and almanacs was more widespread.

Chinese written characters were normally written or printed from right to left and from top to bottom in unpunctuated columns. Various categories of script forms developed over time and for different cultural functions, including official forms such as the seal or clerical scripts, a standard script most often used for printed texts, and various cursive scripts. Handwritten texts could be produced in different scripts and with varying degrees of formality, using pliable animal-hair brushes. The distinctions between regular, running, and grass scripts could be roughly analogous to those between printed writing, cursive script styles, and barely legible personal scrawls in handwritten English (see "Script Types," page 175). A small minority of individual characters were pictographic or represented abstract concepts, but most were compound characters including a significant classifying element, or radical ("water," "metal," "hand," "bird," and "grass" are examples), along with a phonetic component that conveyed pronunciation.

Functions of writing thus included representing spoken language, providing a unifying vehicle of communication, and conveying political, religious, or social authority. From early times writing was also appreciated for its aesthetic values. A critical and theoretical literature about calligraphy developed from the third century [illegible] onward, as did a close relationship with the arts of poetry and painting. Writing as a kind of drawing could be appreciated in aesthetic terms, but some modes of writing gave more emphasis to visual interest over others. In most texts there is both mere notation or practical function on one hand and expressive [illegible] on the other. [illegible] of the [illegible] status of the person writing and the [illegible] [illegible] style and length of an inscription [illegible] [illegible] ent purpose and impact than an [illegible] brush-written [illegible] cursive style (for example, see [illegible]).

Romanization

Since all Chinese languages use a logographic writing system, often referred to as Chinese characters, one way to represent the sounds of Chinese words is by "Romanizing," that is, using letters of the Roman alphabet. That alphabet was not, however, created for this purpose, and many of the accommodations are less than ideal. Two systems are in common use. The first is Wade-Giles, a system devised in the nineteenth century by two [illegible] English scholars, Thomas Wade and Herbert Giles, which [illegible] was standard in English-language publications of all kinds. The second is Pinyin (literally "spelling" or "putting together sounds"), a system promulgated by the PRC for all official purposes and employed by many users outside China since the 1980s. Pinyin has been followed in this text. Pinyin was created relatively recently and employs some conventions of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA); unlike Wade-Giles, it was not created expressly for the convenience of English speakers.

The following examples illustrate some of the contrasts between Wade-Giles and Pinyin. Wade-Giles links multisyllable words with hyphens, while Pinyin simply runs the syllables together (e.g., Wade-Giles Ho-nan; Pinyin Henan). Wade-Giles employs several diacritical marks, while Pinyin does not (e.g., Wade-Giles

Yan-hsia (Pinyin Yanxia). In Wade-Giles, initial consonants that are aspirated are marked by an apostrophe, while in Pinyin different letters are used to represent the aspirated and unaspirated sounds, e.g., Wade-Giles p'an, pan, t'an, tan, k'an, kan; Pinyin pan, ban, tan, dan, kan, gan.

CHRONOLOGY

This book begins, inevitably, at 5000 BCE, with Late Neolithic cultures of seven thousand years ago. How to label and understand such long spans of time are not simple questions; long ages invite no specific view. One of the main threads of [illegible] was archaeology, which has extended knowledge back into earlier periods [illegible] all [illegible] "prehistoric" [illegible]. The labels we apply here in the process, several conventional divisions, [illegible] are helpful here, but with certain qualifications.

History and Prehistory

In premodern Chinese culture there was no "prehistory." The oldest stages of the human story were accounted for by narratives now considered mythical. Sima Qian's Historical Records (Shiji, ca. 90 BCE), for example, tells a history of the world from the beginning of [illegible] received literary sources were [illegible] [illegible] by [illegible] through such notable [illegible] inventions [illegible] by Shen Nong [illegible]. The [illegible] historians devoted enormous efforts to examining historical genealogies [illegible] with searching [illegible] determining in the process that the oldest firm date was merely 841 BCE, during the Western Zhou period. Prior to that date, all traditional and modern chronologies vary, depending on sources consulted and decisions on various issues. The most often debated of key early dates—the founding of the Western Zhou—continues to engage scholars, who in our time consult radiocarbon datings, eclipse records, and a variety of other sources.

Since the discovery of the oracle bone inscriptions at the turn of the twentieth century, primary historical sources have been available for study back to the period of the Late Shang kings, beginning probably with Wu Ding's reign [illegible]. [illegible] the period from Wu Ding's reign onward [illegible] historical [illegible] in the sense that primary records are at hand. The centuries leading up to Late Shang [illegible] protohistory, in the sense [illegible] some of their data may [illegible] the past [illegible] record of the period. What is [illegible] prehistory [illegible] more arbitrary. Here we assign the end of the [illegible] formation [illegible] following [illegible] developments [illegible] archaeology [illegible] the first of the Three Dynasties of traditional historiography, the Xia, [illegible] the beginning of [illegible] in this volume, chapter 2.

Imperial China

Strictly speaking, the imperial age begins in 221 BCE with the success of the Qin armies against the final rival (see chapter 4) and ends with the demise of the Manchu Qing dynasty in 1912.

[illegible] generations of earlier scholars, Chinese society [illegible] were by no means unchanging during that long span, nor were the breaks at 221 BCE and 1911 absolutely clear-cut. The essential components of Qin's new regime were created in the centuries prior to 221, while [illegible] elements of an imperial state were [illegible] only in the Han or still later. The abdication of the last emperor likewise did not change the structure and functioning of Chinese society overnight. The two rival modern Chinese states, the PRC and Republic of China (ROC), both perpetuate long-established imperial customs and usages.

Our chapters recognize many, but not all, of the major dynastic divisions. Whether or not we follow the historian's periodizations, we are convinced that social, economic, ideological, and

0-2 Xu Yang, active 1750–after 1776, Bird's Eye View of the Capital [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] chapters [illegible] the imperial [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Late Neolithic period	c. 5000–[illegible]
[illegible] culture ([illegible])	[illegible]
[illegible] culture ([illegible])	[illegible]
Xia dynasty	c. [illegible]
Shang dynasty	[illegible]
Zhou dynasty	[illegible]
Qin dynasty	[illegible]
Han dynasty	[illegible]
[illegible] Han	[illegible]
Period of Division	[illegible]
[illegible] Dynasties	
Liang	[illegible]–557
[illegible] (Toba/Tuoba)	386–534

Sui dynasty	[illegible]
Tang dynasty	[illegible]
Five (Northern) dynasties	907–960
Ten Kingdoms	[illegible]
Northern Han	951–979
Southern Han	917–971
China Periphery	
Song dynasty	[illegible]
Yuan dynasty (Mongol)	1279–[illegible]
Ming dynasty	1368–1644
Qing dynasty (Manchu)	1644–19[illegible]
Republic of China	19[illegible]
People's Republic of China	1949–present

PREHISTORIC ROOTS
LATE NEOLITHIC CULTURES

W[illegible]

[illegible]

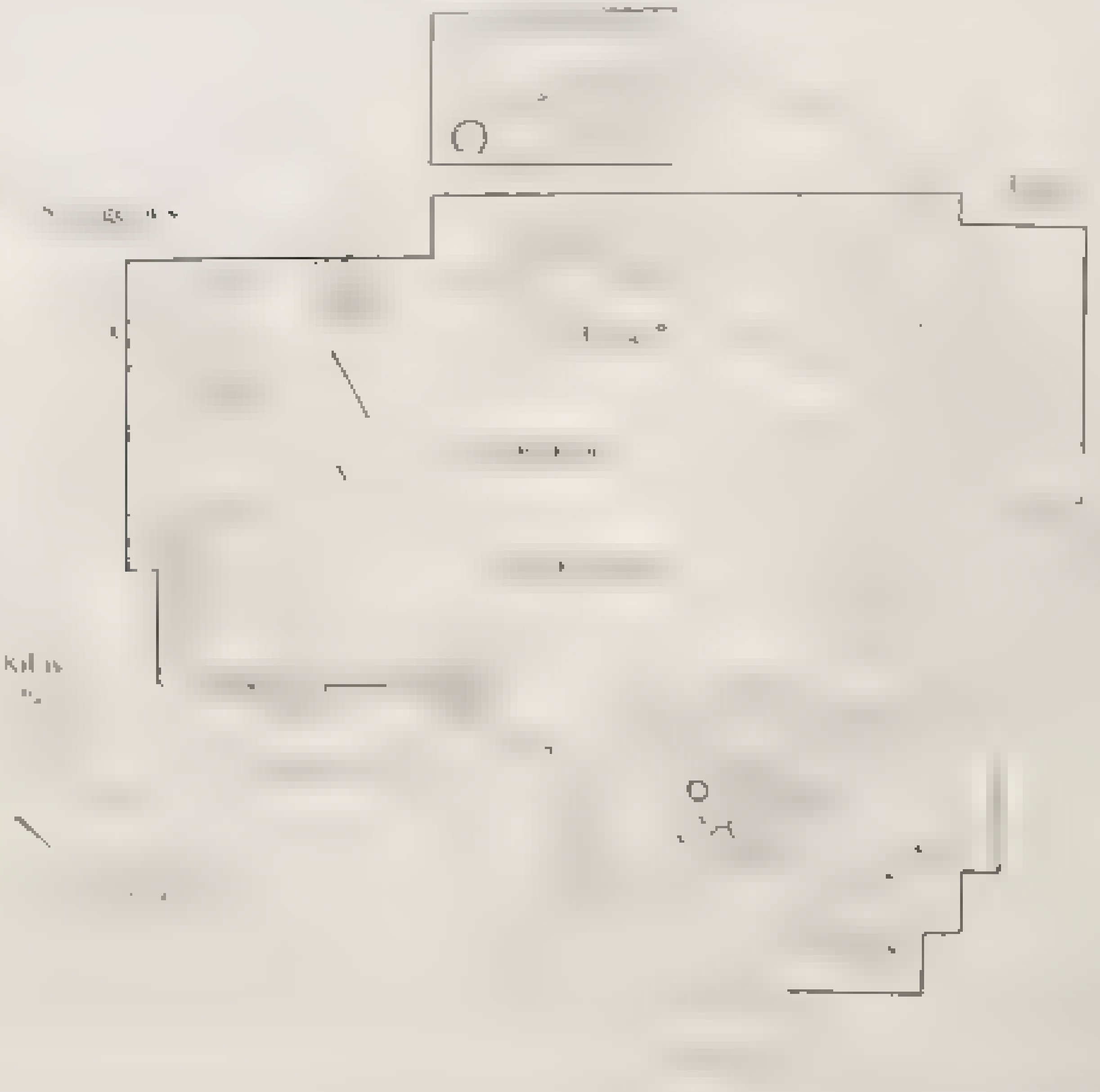
[illegible]

after the last Ice Age. These changes often [illegible] a varying degree [illegible] in which people built villages with semi-permanent houses. Village populations relied on cultivated plants and [illegible] animals as well as [illegible] gathering and hunting. This shift is [illegible] from storage pits and [illegible] flaked stone tools [illegible] hand mills — and vessels used to process [illegible] bones [illegible] and quantity [illegible] use pots. These changes often but not always included the making of [illegible] generally the most abundant artifacts at sites of this kind.

In combination, these changes suggest a social organization larger than family groups. Local societies of this kind comprise several lineage groups that find it beneficial to live together and to share resources and labor for such activities as agriculture and mutual defense. By at least [illegible] North China supported many villages with populations of several hundred people. These villages may have been [illegible] and then abandoned [illegible] perhaps later reoccupied. Discontinuous occupation [illegible] soil exhaustion [illegible] for example, slash-and-burn agriculture was practiced. Most of the [illegible] described in this chapter, with the exception of the Longshan [illegible] eggshell wares [illegible] village-level social structures.

1.2 Plan of Jiangzhai village

[illegible]



Archaeologists in the People's Republic of China (PRC) generally employ a terminology to describe these societies that they derive from nineteenth-century European and American social-historical theory, especially the writings of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, and Lewis Henry Morgan. In their primitive early societies [illegible] were [illegible] with a matrilineal or matriarchal organization in which women occupied a privileged place; the clan, family, and descent was reckoned through women. In a later [illegible] patriarchal [illegible], in which men became socially dominant, descent was reckoned through [illegible]. [illegible] archaeological data [illegible] such as [illegible] [illegible] to the [illegible] of a transition from one to the other.

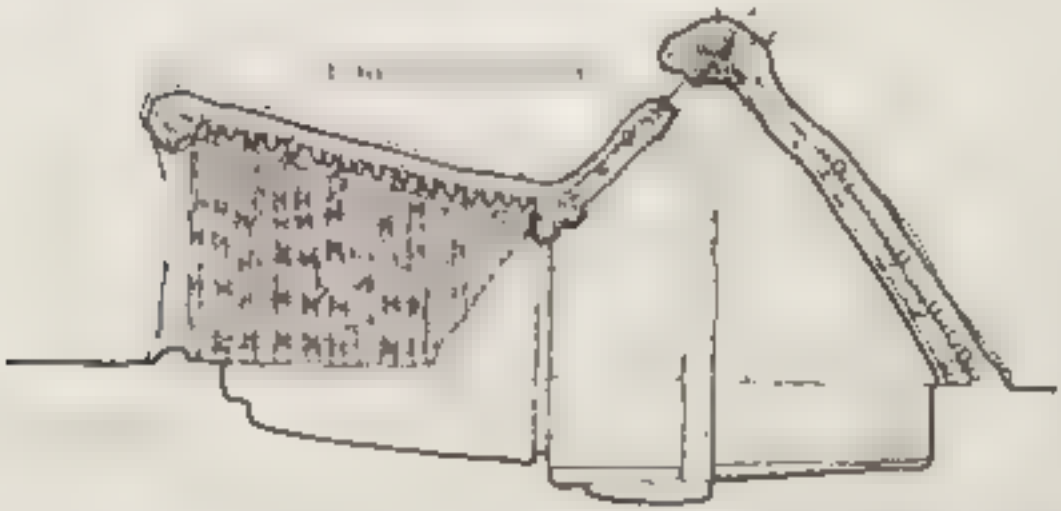
Village Life

Where [illegible] Neolithic villages have been investigated, [illegible] have been [illegible], thoroughly explored, and thoroughly reported. Two [illegible] Xi'an, Shaanxi, representing the Yangshao culture, [illegible] the best [illegible] of villages at the beginning of the late Neolithic. The first site, that of Banpo, was discovered in 1953 and excavated [illegible]. The [illegible] and analyses of [illegible] have [illegible] in Neolithic China. The second site, Jiangzhai, [illegible] east from Xi'an, was excavated over eleven seasons between 1972 and 1979. [illegible] the differences and the present [illegible]. However, the excavations uncovered only about a fifth of the Banpo area, whereas [illegible] of the Jiangzhai site was exposed.

Both sites occupy terraces above streams, in each case tributaries of the Wei River. The high ground afforded safety from flooding, while the streams provided reliable water. Both sites were surrounded by large ditches several yards or meters deep and wide (see Fig. 1.2). Unexcavated sections in the ditches indicated entering and leaving. Traces of a wooden palisade at Jiangzhai suggest the ditch had a defensive role. Inside the ditch enclosure at Jiangzhai, about one hundred houses were grouped into five clusters, each [illegible] single, much larger house. This leads to the inference that the village comprised [illegible] living in the [illegible]. The large houses [illegible] have served as [illegible] at Banpo and other [illegible] suggest that Yangshao communities shared this [illegible] plan and social structure. At Jiangzhai the large open [illegible] the center of the village [illegible] used as a cemetery, and [illegible].

Both villages [illegible] have [illegible] of earthen pits for storage, and at [illegible] including [illegible] kilns at one edge of the [illegible]. [illegible] it appears that agricultural resources were kept within the [illegible] took place [illegible]. The villages depended on cultivated millet as their main cereal food. Many [illegible] stone tools [illegible] and to harvest grain, either domesticated grains and vegetables [illegible] what we call Chinese cabbage [illegible]. Domesticated pigs and dogs furnished meat [illegible] supplemented by wild animals such as deer [illegible] fish. Stone points for spears and arrows confirm game hunting, as do skeletal remains, and the number of carved bone fish hooks points to a [illegible] on fishing.

Houses at Banpo and Jiangzhai stood either on the surface or sunk below ground level and were either rectangular or round in plan (see Fig. 1.3). There may have been a trend over time to build more houses at ground level and on rectangular plans. These houses were constructed around several large posts set into the ground and covered with a skin of wattle and daub; branches were woven together for the walls and roof and coated with mud plaster. The tamped floors and walls sometimes show signs of burning. A hearth near the center of the floor allowed indoor cooking, and presumably a smoke hole pierced the roof. A raised threshold at the doorway protected the interior from water running in. The interiors of these houses



[illegible] 40 or 320 square meters [illegible] larger ones might be adequate for a family group of five or more [illegible] Large single-room [illegible] as many as [illegible] houses [illegible] have [illegible]

These villages at Banpo and Jiangzhai were [illegible] of the period from [illegible] 4,000 B.C. We have [illegible] Neither are there [illegible] differences in [illegible] Houses show [illegible] Most of the [illegible] At Banpo [illegible] of Jiangzhai they [illegible] small houses [illegible] high [illegible] have [illegible] pleasant home [illegible] depend—[illegible] In the North [illegible] Shangcun [illegible] all Yangshao [illegible] leaves [illegible] the question of how [illegible] villages were [illegible] other [illegible] of social organization. Schematic [illegible] for which we are [illegible] expressed [illegible] of the [illegible] Banpo [illegible] of large storage pits [illegible] by occupation or perhaps [illegible] Yangshao [illegible] shared a common cemetery. The existence of large settlements of [illegible] seems plausible [illegible] and [illegible]

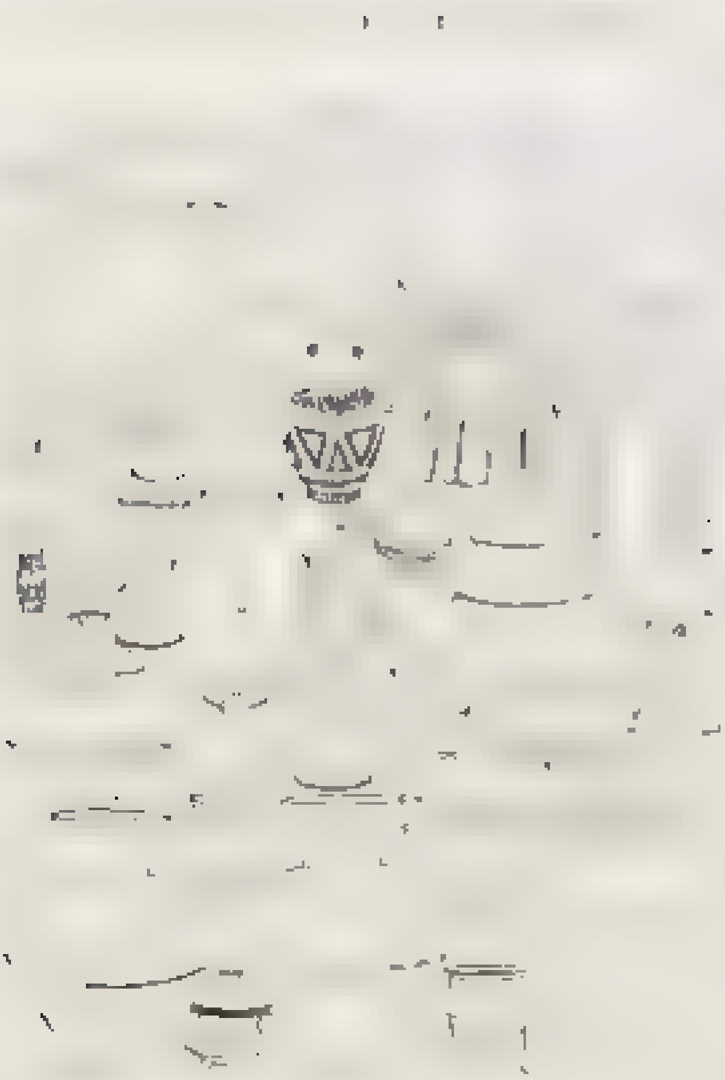
[illegible] Yangshao [illegible] of many [illegible] villages of large walled settlements. Neolithic walled sites have been known since the excavations at Chengziyai, Shandong, and Longshan, Henan, in the 1930s. Walled sites can now be [illegible] across the middle and lower Yellow River drainage areas and in the Middle and Lower Yangzi macroregions. None of these sites except Wangchenggang, Dengfeng County, Henan, has been presented in a formal report, and this actually ranks among the smallest. Here two fragmentary walled compounds measuring less than [illegible]

Henan and [illegible] preliminary reports [illegible] of the [illegible] of [illegible] Some of these sites have discovered a [illegible] [illegible] The most [illegible] Shangcun [illegible] Shandong [illegible] Such [illegible] represent the [illegible]

Death and Burial

While villagers buried young children [illegible] and hang, but the buried adults in [illegible] Archaeologists [illegible] at the center of the village. Most burials are single graves containing one person [illegible] and personal ornaments. Sometimes [illegible] appear at Yangshao sites. At both Banpo and Jiangzhai, [illegible] excavations. There are no organized funeral [illegible] rather of higher status than others. From the grave goods, Banpo and Jiangzhai appear to be egalitarian societies.

At other Neolithic cemeteries, however, differences in grave construction and burial goods suggest social differentiation. Burials at Banpo suggest that some members of these villages enjoyed higher status and greater wealth in life than did others. But treatment of the dead cannot be used as simple proxy for status in life. The Dawenkou site, Taian, and Nanjiang, Yuntai, Shandong, provide one of the best examples of



[illegible] Plan of a [illegible] with grave goods

[illegible] drawing [illegible]

The plan (right) shows a rectangular pit with skeletal remains placed within a large [illegible] pictured at left. The woman [illegible]

[illegible] painted pot [illegible]

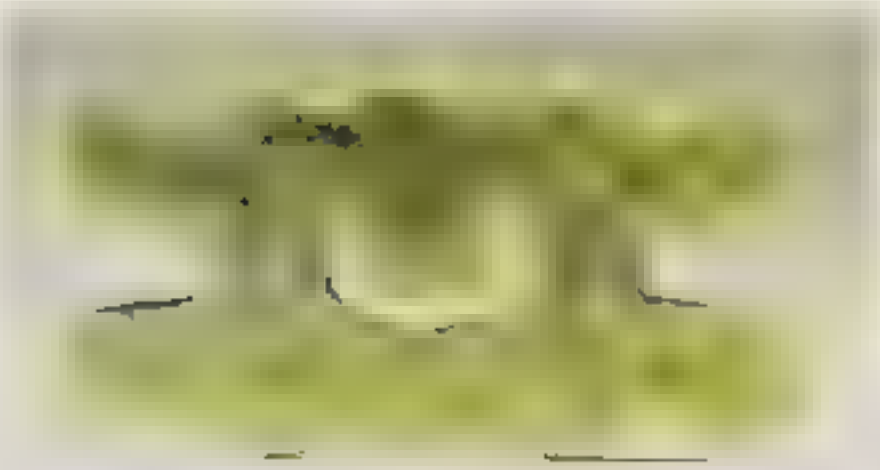
contrasts in grave sizes and furnishings. Excavated in summer 1959, this large cemetery contained at least 135 graves that could be ascribed to three successive periods [illegible] in a cluster. Twelve burials at the north edge of the cemetery can be dated to the late period. [illegible] a woman age 30–35 [illegible] The skeleton was placed in a large rectangular pit more than 1.5 feet long and [illegible] feet wide. [illegible] several dozen white, black, and painted pottery vessels [illegible] as well as other jewelry. These furnishings may indicate [illegible] grave goods represent a considerable amount of wealth consigned to the ground upon that woman's death, while a few of the many graves are so large and so richly furnished.

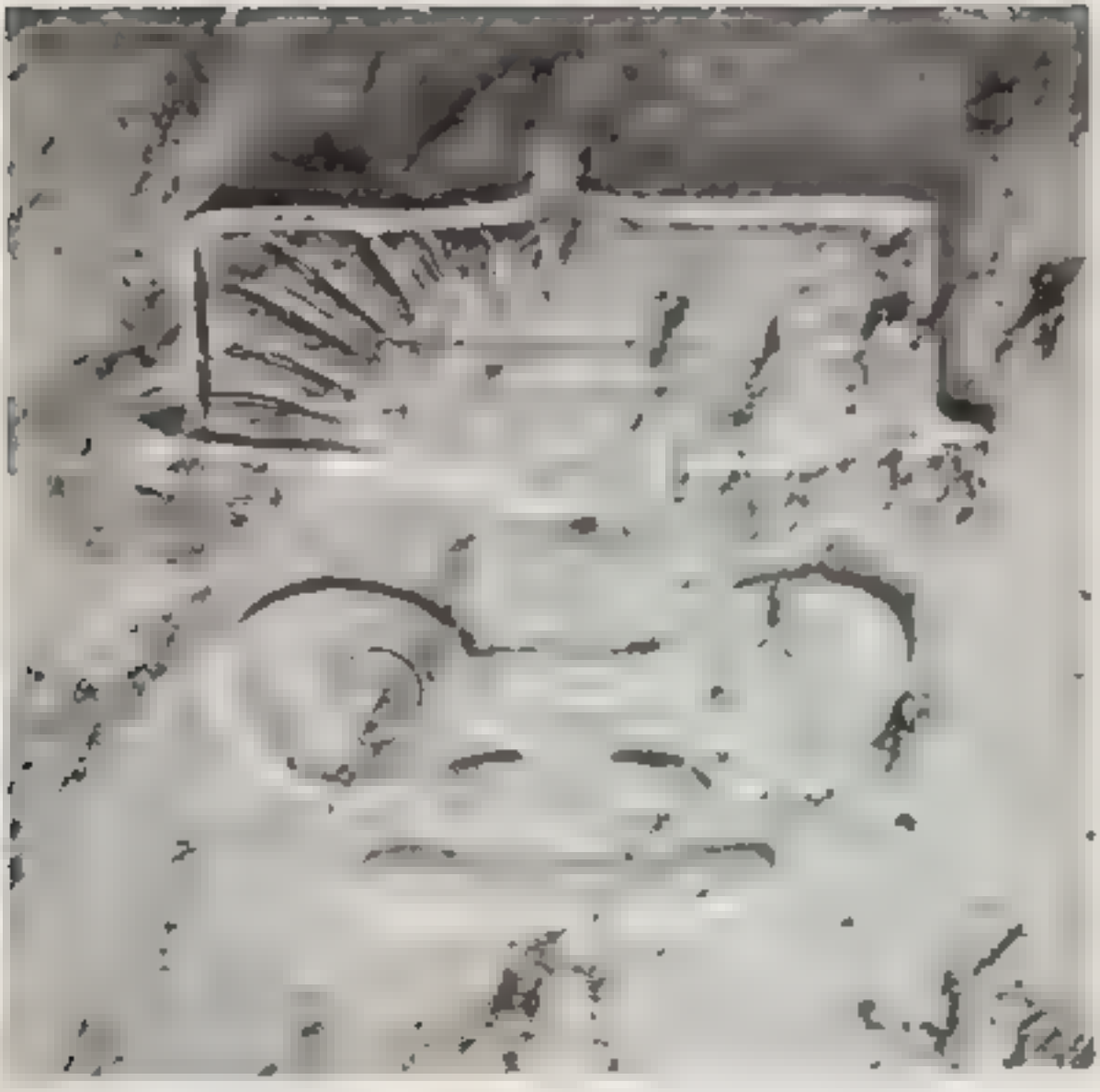
While most of the objects discussed so far came from graves, most were not made specifically for burial. Some tools and pottery are of course common in the dwelling areas of Neolithic villages but they are rarely so well preserved or [illegible] here. For the best specimens we rely on graves placed with the dead, but even so, much of the pottery has been restored. This kind of [illegible] has its drawbacks [illegible] the whole range of [illegible] On the other hand, [illegible] more about shape and surface treatment than [illegible] and must be [illegible] to understand the full accomplishments of Neolithic potters.

MATERIAL CULTURE: MAKING THINGS

The people who lived in these villages created [illegible] material [illegible] utilizing the abundant resources of their environment. They carved

Working Hardware and Tell





Mask model, mask

Working with Clay

[illegible] ages—serve as a point of entry into such questions as [illegible] representational designs [illegible] hand while less common in real numbers are [illegible] see page 4[illegible] [illegible] spheres [illegible] are [illegible] here as the proverbial "slippery slope." How can we be [illegible] that our ancestors [illegible] a sign we see as a "[illegible]" [illegible] decorations made some special form that the ancient potters themselves saw it worthwhile to make?

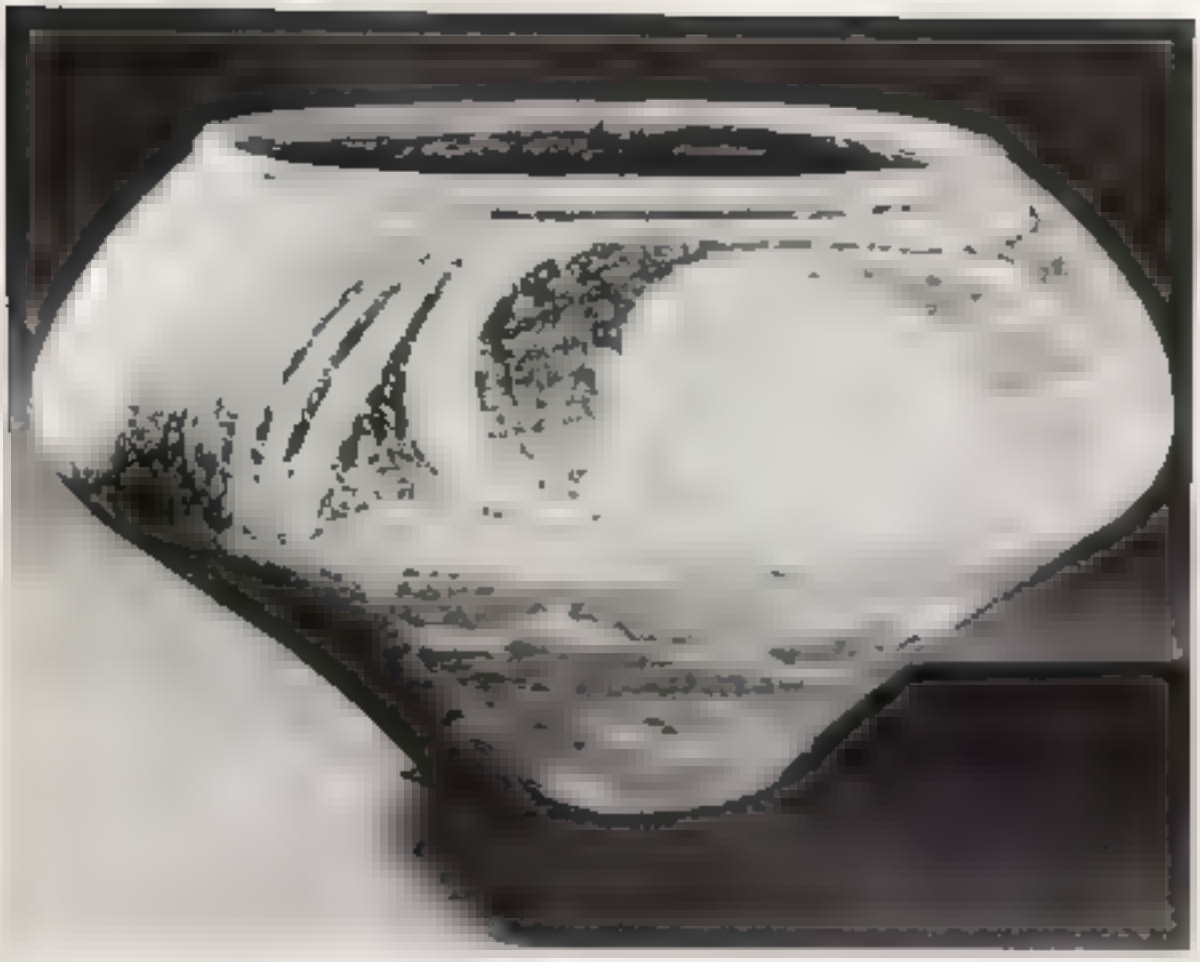
Pottery vessels served practical purposes for their [illegible] but the fact that [illegible] pots [illegible] ceremonial purposes as well. Any vessel can be [illegible] [illegible] taking apart and discarding each of its attributes or features. For example, a vessel with a small lip that would only open enough for [illegible] may be [illegible] and discarding other [illegible] could have served a variety of purposes in that the spout [illegible] over its [illegible] or [illegible] or [illegible] or [illegible] but a single type could serve several functions, and many types probably served [illegible] functions. Skeleton [illegible] have [illegible] such as the one [illegible] bowls [illegible] such features [illegible] place their actual roles in all contexts.

We can be more confident about [illegible] of the contents provide specific clues. Residues such as the dregs of a liquid or the charred remains of cooked grain or meat indicate [illegible] [illegible] with carbon on their legs clearly served as cooking pots. Attributes that not [illegible] a specific purpose in themselves—such as legs, ring feet, lugs, spouts, lids and knobs—also help [illegible] clues. [illegible] rings surround the mouth of a vessel, especially one with a large capacity, it may be that a lid or cover was tied down with a perishable material to seal the vessel and protect its contents. An argument about whether some pottery was used for utilitarian or ceremonial often depends on clues derived from its attributes and context. For example, vessels with especially large pedestal bases, elaborate lids, and other features that make the vessel inconvenient to handle may have been displayed vessels and thus signs of wealth or rank. Vessels [illegible] that only a great or humans truly [illegible] be classified as ceremonial with some doubt.

Yangshao Cultures

Since [illegible] Yangshao [illegible] culture has often been equated with painted pottery, [illegible] painted vessels made up a small percentage of the total ceramic inventory at any excavation and within any cultural context. Excavations of the Banshan site, Machang [illegible] at Banpo, the excavators collected five hundred thousand sherds and reconstructed [illegible] vessels. Of these, only a few dozen whole vessels were painted decorations. At Banpo, painted vessels made up a little [illegible] percent of the sherds, with a [illegible] percent of the whole vessels. Such ceramics were primarily to hold water and food and appear in burials, sometimes in [illegible]. There are [illegible] seems that the painted pottery at Banpo was of better than average quality and was preferred for both caring and burial use.

In an [illegible] of pottery shape and decoration, the Yangshao [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] At Banpo, the [illegible] were built up by [illegible] to a flat base. This [illegible] a gently swelling silhouette, but the upper [illegible] of the body [illegible] slightly below or [illegible] [illegible] appear on the [illegible] upper region [illegible] and [illegible] the base. Black and red slips [illegible] suspensions of clay were used to apply a variety of motifs. Among the more distinctive are a fish in silhouette with [illegible] gills and [illegible] painted areas, a mask with [illegible] eyes, nose, and mouth, sometimes with flanking fish and such creatures as deer and frogs. These representational motifs are [illegible] with an abundant repertoire of geometric patterns, such as [illegible] panels with [illegible] reminiscent of fish bones. Several early analyses of these motifs suggested that the "representational" fish came



[illegible]

[illegible] 15 Pedestal bowl with [illegible]

[illegible] with geometric decoration [illegible]

[illegible] to show that maintenance [illegible]

[illegible] and at Dawenkou [illegible] has so often [illegible] for showing [illegible]

[illegible] plate [illegible]

[illegible] Mississippian [illegible] Mississippian [illegible] for example the [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] and [illegible] with part of [illegible]

[illegible] parallel Mississippian [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] ship [illegible] square [illegible]

[illegible] Mississippian [illegible] Dawenkou [illegible] suggests the best explanation for the [illegible] to decorate [illegible] Mississippian [illegible] suggests place the two phases within the same chronological range and [illegible] the [illegible] of the Dawenkou [illegible]

north or [illegible] reveal a [illegible] occupation [illegible] represents a gradual [illegible] Yangshao phases including impressive painted pottery utilizing several slips [illegible] that suggests contact with Dawenkou. The [illegible] shown

in this figure descends from the short, wide-mouthed basin first encountered at Banpo and later developed in both Miaodigou and Dawenkou. Its decoration consists of a white ground with other pigments played off against it, known earlier from the east. Movement back and forth from the Dragon interior to the east coast was feasible and must have been increasingly common over time. Throughout the Late Neolithic such regional interaction became more and more powerful and must be considered one of the essential media for gradually creating a supra-regional culture [illegible]

In addition to the three regions discussed above, painted pottery has been found in other cultures, including the Shan and Machang of Gansu and Qinghai, the Hongshan Culture of the Northeast, the Dian Culture of the Middle Yangzi, and the Laos Culture of Shanxi. It is not [illegible] to demonstrate that sustained interaction with adjacent Yangshao or Dawenkou Cultures had a decisive impact on these painted wares. The Laos Culture is still known only from preliminary reports, and very little of its painted pottery has been published. It is assumed to [illegible] 2300–1500 B.C. Laos painted pottery was a rarity except for the Northward-facing orientation, the Shan, Machang, and subsequent cultures. In the early Bronze Age painted wares also appear in the Nanshan Culture of the Southeast, see [illegible]

The Shandong Longshan Culture

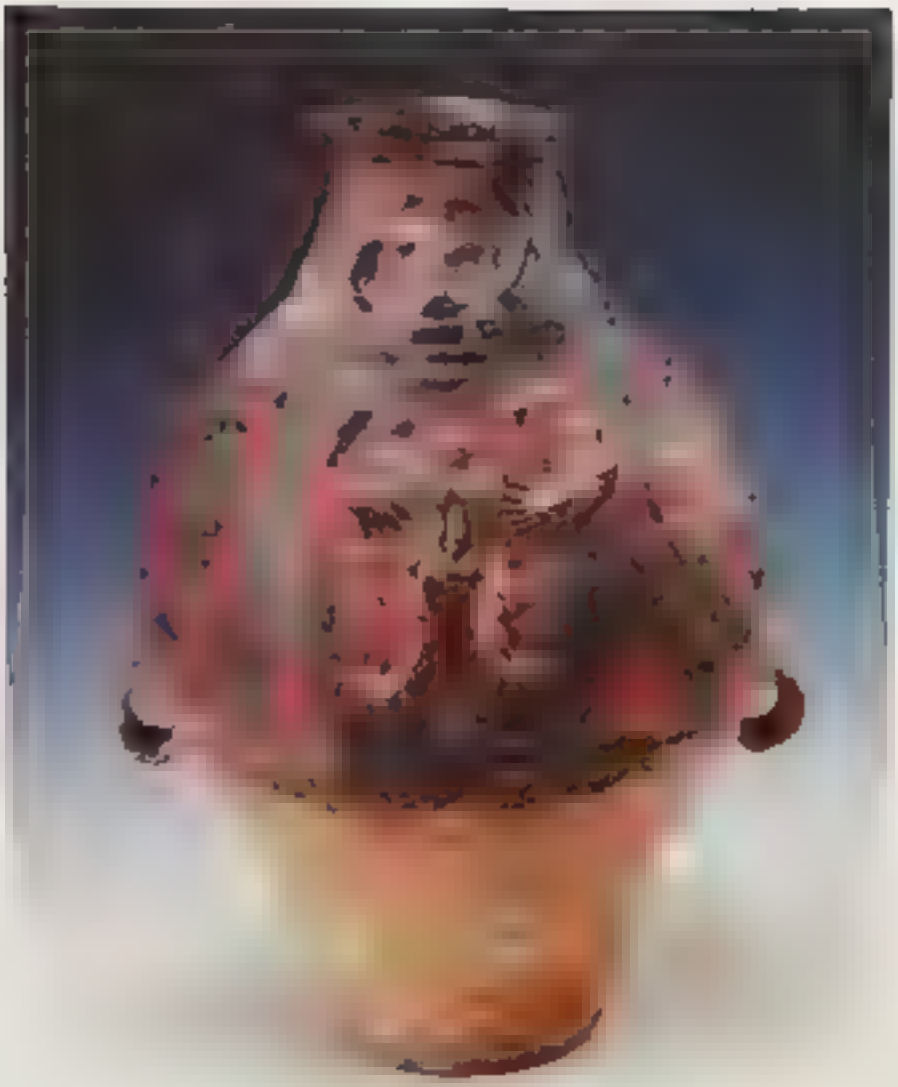
For several decades, "Longshan" has been a general term for a host of regional cultures in North China and the Yangzi drainage zone that share certain features and to [illegible] chronologically in the third millennium B.C. [illegible] his meaning exceeds the initial use of this term, which it applied only to the culture first recognized at a site called Chengziyai east of Jinan, Shandong. Pottery found at that site by G. D. Wu and others in 1930–1931 included a range of gray, dull black, and lustrous lacquer black wares. Some were wheel made. Excavations at earlier Dawenkou sites have demonstrated that Shandong Longshan wares descend from shapes that evolved over a long term in that culture. Both in their earlier Dawenkou derivations and in their later Longshan lines, these vessels do not exhibit much if any surface embellishment except for raised ridges and incised lines made while turning on a wheel. The Shandong Longshan wares were among the earliest pottery made by specialists rather than part-time or seasonal potters. The Shandong Longshan Culture, this would seem, represents a society exceeded a village-level society, and, as with the Liangzhu Culture of the south, the term "chiefdom" probably [illegible]

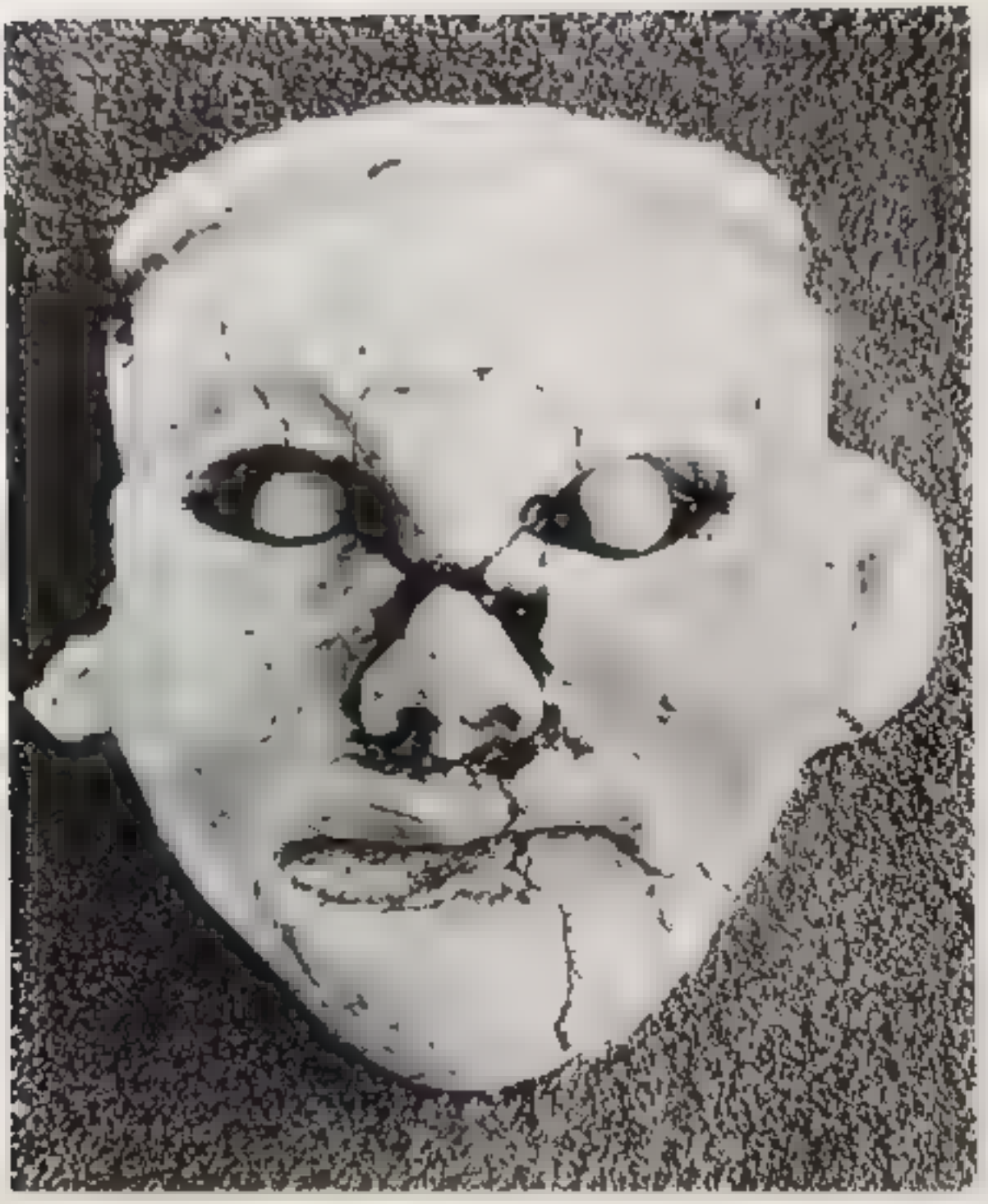
Two kinds of pottery from this culture deserve special attention. A distinctive spouted pitcher (fig. 1.[illegible]) made from red, gray, or white clays has been found throughout its distribution. The white clay used for these vessels, but rarely for others, is a pure kaolin that burns to a yellow white color when fired at high temperatures. This may be the earliest discovery of porcelain, a kind of clay being used for ceramics. While clay is an indispensable ingredient, much later, for porcelain [illegible] The [illegible] vessels consist of three [illegible] legs terminating in solid conical feet. Above the feet, at which point these three legs join, is a tall neck with a flared rim. One portion of this rim is drawn out to create a large triangular spout. Directly opposite, attached below the neck, is a single strap handle. The form of the vessel, especially its slightly [illegible] handle, favored a pouring function, presumably for liquid contents, which could be held in the hollow legs. Function and shape anticipate, or parallel, several bronze pouring vessels of the early Bronze Age, for example, see [illegible] below.

Taking into account the [illegible] characteristics, first spots, and wear, among the finest Shandong Longshan wares must have served ritual functions. This ware has been called "egg shell black" (no. 1-18) because it compares in thickness to a chicken's eggshell. Characteristic vessels are small goblets, for consisting of a round base, thin stem, and cupshape body with a flaring rim; they weigh only 1.5–2.5 ounces (50–70 g). Each component shows traces of having been thrown on a fast wheel. Some vessels actually have a separate cup created by the stem. The amazing thinness of the walls required a very fine clay

Fig. 8 Siegburg

21 Detail of emblem incised on vessel





his does not mean that they would be necessarily be included within the history of that culture.

This chapter emphasizes features of the [illegible] that are [illegible] that in many cases can be plausibly [illegible] cultures. [illegible] of place has gone to such topics as work [illegible] and [illegible] pottery [illegible] and decorations, the [illegible] representational [illegible] plants [illegible] steps [illegible] of making [illegible] as a history that links prehistoric human groups with [illegible] which we attach the label [illegible] picture of [illegible] neighboring regions could be ascertained from [illegible] perhaps [illegible] Western Asia. Moreover, the material actually described above is the tip of a [illegible] by year [illegible] were [illegible] attributed to a [illegible] historic period [illegible] have been correctly identified [illegible] examples of which [illegible] will [illegible] necessary in the future. [illegible] great promise [illegible] allow us to [illegible] the [illegible]

THE EARLY BRONZE AGE: SHANG AND WESTERN ZHOU

[illegible] Chinese archaeology [illegible] with excavations of prehistoric sites [illegible] many of its practices took shape during two episodes related to the Bronze Age: premodern antiquarianism, starting as long ago as the eleventh century, and the excavations at Anyang, Henan, prior to World War II. In the Northern Song period (960–1127), scholars began to investigate bronze ritual vessels with inscriptions as a means of supplementing and correcting the text-based records of the Confucian classics and histories. By consulting ancient texts, scholars created a vocabulary to name these vessels and [illegible] shapes and patterns, also [illegible] kings and emperors who began to collect and study these objects. Twas the prestigious [illegible] dynasties. All of these activities contributed to an expanded view of the past that [illegible] Dynasties (Xia, Shang, and Zhou). It became known that many ritual vessels had been recovered in the northern part of Henan at a locale known as Yinxu ("the ruins of Yin"), the traditional capital of the late Shang period.

Scientific excavations at Anyang actually began as a legacy of such enthusiasm. The discovery that inscribed oracle bones (shell and bone) were [illegible] Divination Communicating with the Ancestors, page 63) [illegible] from a farmer's field near Anyang triggered fifteen seasons of large-scale excavations (1928–1937). As work [illegible] of [illegible] the Shang kings. The [illegible] kings that [illegible] have [illegible] a more [illegible] of what we know of the Late Shang culture. Thus, for the pioneers of Chinese archaeology, their excavation was a [illegible] with the study of history in [illegible]

Today, most Chinese archaeologists agree that history begins c. 2000 BCE or even earlier. In this chapter we consider a wide range of archaeological data in relation to the received picture of ancient Chinese history, a sequence of dynasties exercising political power over portions of North China and neighboring areas. However, the present authors regard most of the second millennium BCE—a period in which [illegible] well documented in particular, we maintain a reserved attitude [illegible] the Xia dynasty (c. 2000–1600 BCE), even though [illegible] and Bronze Age [illegible] have been [illegible] there have found its at Erlitou, a site called [illegible], Henan.

THE EARLY STATE AND SOCIETY

Whether one consults the archaeological record or the literary canon, the human landscape of the second millennium BCE changed in fundamental

2.1 Bell-shaped wine [illegible]

[illegible]

Shang and Zhou sites in Henan and Shaanxi

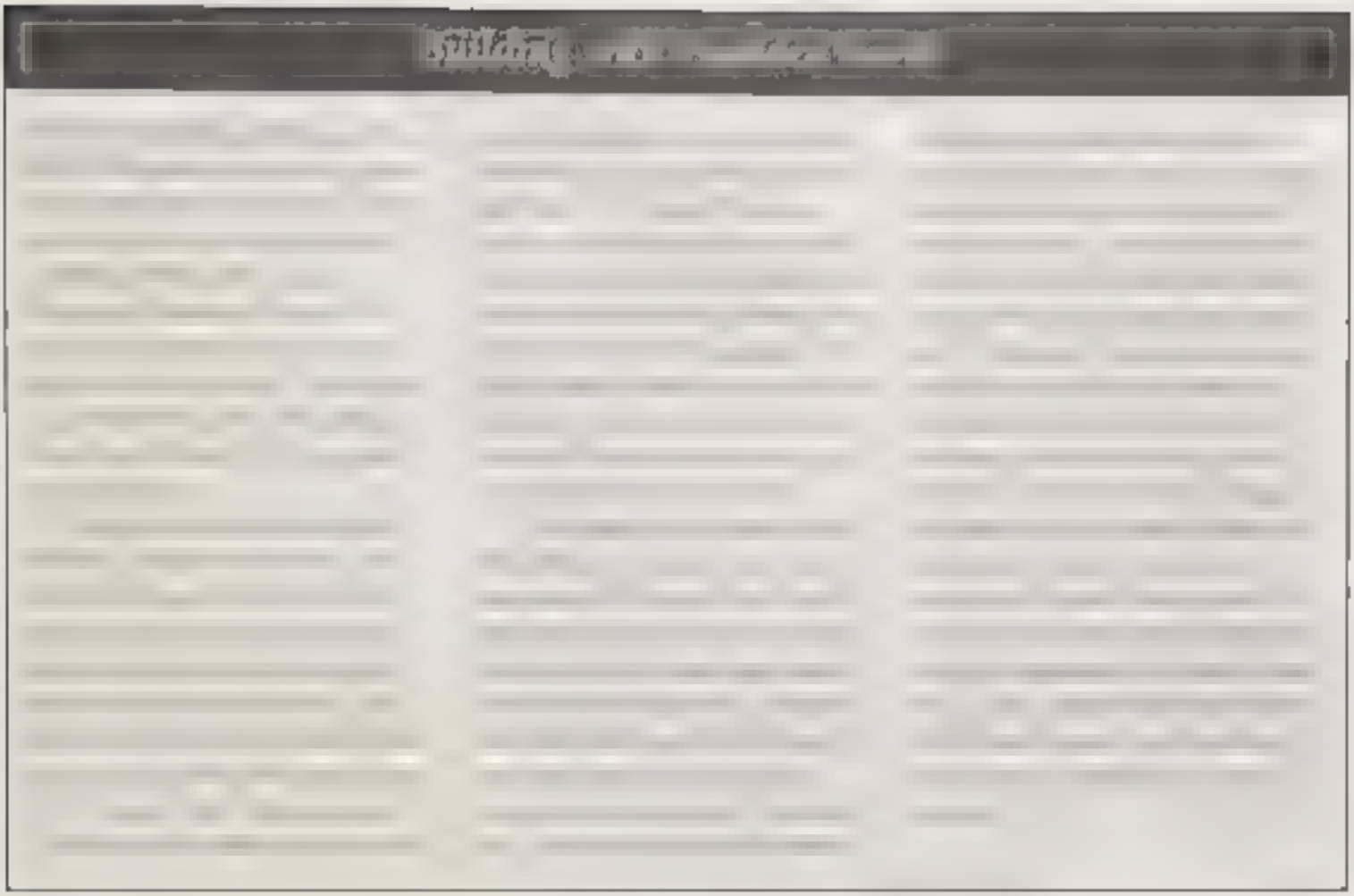
were changes results from population growth or migration as they were the consequence of increasingly complex small villages — much like the Late Neolithic centers at Hongshan and Liangzhu (see fig. 1.2 above) — and existed in great numbers but larger more complex settlements also appeared for the first time. Archaeologists have much to say about how we regarded the Shang house, with over a few widely dispersed manor settlements served a range of new purposes required by a stratified social order. These major sites were the centers of chieftains or kings. Some chieftains and kings have left the traces in the historical record, possibly he has most certainly the Shang and Zhou. How much before the Late Shang period (c. 1200–1050 BCE) such powerful figures could properly be called kings, many scholars debate, but there can be little doubt that the first true states appeared in North China during this protohistoric period. By the late Neolithic period, the Shang and Zhou kings engaged in both friendly and hostile relations with each other and with the groups bordering their territory.

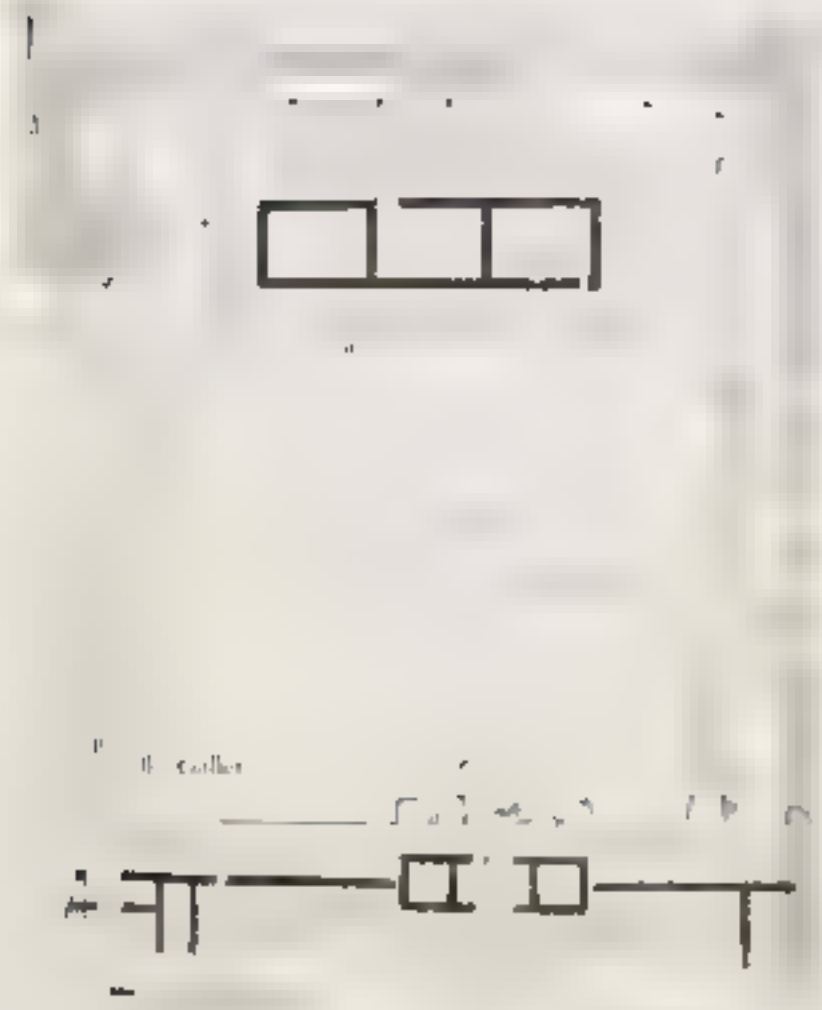
Settlements

Even if the identification of specific sites can be achieved, physical traces of widespread social change are readily in the ground. Ten excavated settlements of this period have actually been reported, but many likely candidates exist, usually suggested by cemeteries for which adjacent habitation zones have not yet been excavated. Among the best preserved settlements is a site in Hebei Province called Taosi (in Gaochang County). This site occupied at least 2400 square yards (2,000 sq. m) of a raised terrace like several yards or meters higher than the adjacent ground. Within the enclosure were the foundations and wall footings of some fourteen houses, we see of them of a single period of occupation. The houses were made to be lived in, and even with the mounted earth walls found, the roofs would have [illegible]. Excavators also noted [illegible] dried mud. Wooden [illegible] plaster or thatch roofs. The houses were aligned either on a north–south axis or at [illegible]

and [illegible] at right angles. Several of the chambers [illegible] the walls and [illegible] functioned like open [illegible]. Some may have been workshops for the potters, bone carving, or even the lacquer [illegible] found at Taosi. [illegible] suggested [illegible] to be long, commanding, [illegible] settlements. Sites such as [illegible] suggest what such a [illegible] might have been like. No [illegible] at Taosi, but over a hundred graves were uncovered [illegible] had bronze vessels and weapons and chariots may represent the elite segment of the local [illegible]

Through the middle of the second millennium BCE, much larger settlements also appeared in the North China manor [illegible] best known and most [illegible] in Henan Province at Zhengzhou where the Erligang site was first investigated in the 1950s, and in Hebei County to the west where a site called Shangcun has been excavated extensively since the 1980s. These walled sites enclose areas in the neighborhood of 0.95 and 1.74 square miles (2.5 and 1.0 sq. km) respectively. The Zhengzhou wall runs partially under a late Ming-period wall, but is longer overall, about 5500–6200 feet (1700–1900 m) on each side of its roughly square plan. The wall was



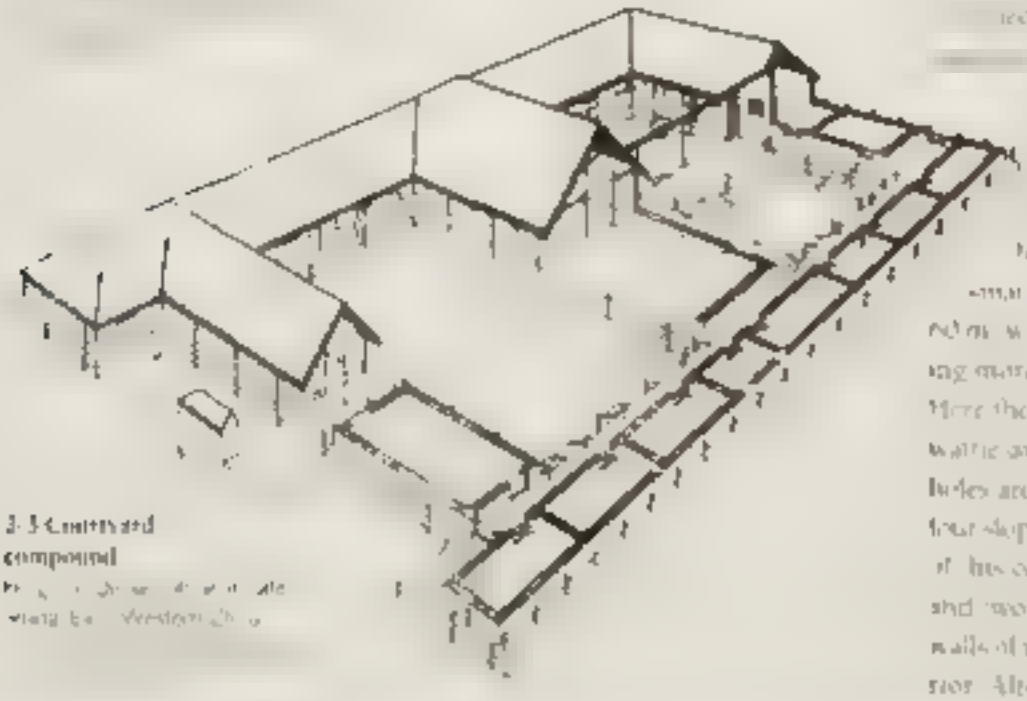


Plan [illegible]

designs in ancient texts, these courtyards [illegible] function as the setting for rituals and gatherings that [illegible] needs of the ruler [illegible] his position [illegible]. Modern scholars [illegible] to these complexes as "palace-temples" to [illegible] multiple roles and [illegible]. A main hall, a large roofed [illegible] on an elevated platform, occupied the [illegible] of a courtyard. The [illegible] the stage on which [illegible] were [illegible]. An enclosing wall [illegible] with a gallery defined the space of the court and eventually an open area [illegible] the main hall [illegible] the ruler [illegible] addressing [illegible] such spaces. A gate [illegible] placed opposite the main hall [illegible] a symmetrical [illegible] the axis [illegible] in the north-south direction, with the [illegible] at the south. The [illegible] wall and gate house separate the space and ac[illegible]

[illegible] The [illegible]

[illegible] Erlitou [illegible] as [illegible] the Erlitou site (fig. 2-2). The larger [illegible] occupies a [illegible] with magnetic north. The [illegible] a large rectangular block [illegible] dimension [illegible] the south [illegible] had been [illegible] throughout [illegible] The smaller site [illegible] about [illegible] m, was better preserved [illegible] more about its hall, gate house, and walls. Here the main hall had three large chambers of wattle-and-daub construction. A circuit of post holes around the perimeter suggests a roof with four slopes of overhanging eaves. The gate house of this courtyard consisted of a central passage and two flanking guard(?) chambers. Perimeter walls of rammed earth and galleries on the interior. Altogether the Erlitou site may have had



2-3 Courtyard compound
[illegible] Western Zhou

as many as seven or [illegible] compounds [illegible]. If they served as ancestral temples, the site could well have been a capital city as defined above. [illegible] Zhengzhou and [illegible], however, the [illegible] site [illegible] ing [illegible] view of its [illegible] the [illegible] also may have been a [illegible] used [illegible] site.

Compounds with this complex plan were not among [illegible] which generally unearthed and recorded in the 1970s [illegible], nor did these [illegible] permit [illegible] excavations. A courtyard of Late Shang date [illegible] shows how this basic design developed. Located [illegible] the [illegible] the courtyard was built [illegible] terrace in such a way that its perimeter [illegible] and [illegible] were elevated above the yard [illegible] 2 [illegible]. The main hall was linked at each end to these [illegible] was [illegible]. The main hall was a [illegible] courtyard. The gate house consisted of two large chambers [illegible] on the sides; they frame a passageway leading into the yard. That entrance was aligned on the central axis and was screened by a freestanding screen wall. This courtyard was a compact, well-integrated unit, each part scaled [illegible] with adjacent components. The overall size is significantly smaller than the two courtyards at [illegible] merely 30 by 40 [illegible] 45 by [illegible]. Because of its location in [illegible] county, ancestral home of the Zhou kings, [illegible] associated [illegible] with [illegible] Zhou lineage. [illegible] as [illegible].

The preference for certain building materials—pounded earth, mud plaster and thatch—rather than [illegible] largely determined the incomplete preservation of these most ancient structures. The [illegible] included [illegible] pottery roof tiles and water pipes, for example, added a new, more durable [illegible] but did not materially improve the preservation of the structures themselves. It is thus quite difficult for us to understand the appearance of these sites. No pictorial art survives from this period, and ancient graphs suggest at most such general features as pitched roofs or two-panel doors. Almost the only evidence for the [illegible] structure [illegible] windows and [illegible] suggest that doors were [illegible] Zhou period [illegible] could lead [illegible] as a palace [illegible].

The Shang Royal Cult

Who occupied these structures and how [illegible] society? [illegible] these questions [illegible] in the interpretation of the oracle-bone inscriptions from Anyang. Whatever we can say today about the Shang royal lineage, its kings, and its cult derives in large measure from reading the [illegible] cut into turtle shells and [illegible] as shoulder blades for the divinations [illegible] that were conducted daily during the reigns of the Late Shang kings. The Shang royal cult functioned in many ways as the glue that held society together. The living king's position on [illegible] as a unique intermediary between the people and the spirits [illegible] his claims to worldly as well as spiritual authority. The practice of divination and sacrifice, both conducted by the king [illegible] the needs of the royal lineage and of the larger society [illegible] and [illegible] Shang [illegible] the Shang were determined [illegible]. Much of the [illegible] was regulated [illegible] and channeled [illegible] this [illegible] (see page [illegible] below) [illegible] and [illegible]. Many [illegible] of the Shang are [illegible] from oracle bones [illegible] bronze vessels and royal tombs.

The oracle-bone inscriptions found at Anyang were [illegible]. Although various methods of forecasting the future were known in ancient China, most famously casting [illegible] stalks in consultation with the Book of Changes (Yijing), the specific materials and process of divination as practiced

Preface

Change

Prognostication

The most powerful spirits affecting the living Shang king and his people were recent royal ancestors. The inscriptions document a genealogy starting with the dynastic founder, Cheng Tang, down through twenty-odd generations to the time that Anyang was occupied as a cult center. An additional eight or nine lineage ancestors [illegible] divined at Anyang and so are taken to be truly historical personages. The royal ancestors included both kings (fathers, grandfathers) and queens or consorts (mothers, grandmothers). Their ability to monitor the workings of the world of the living and to respond to human actions meant the king had to make frequent divinations to find if his acts were [illegible] displeasing. The ancestors became more powerful as their generational distance from the king increased. The Zhou ancestral cult also demanded regular attention from descendants, who maintained lineage altars and performed sacrifices [illegible] at least a certain number of generations. This lineage-based cult, much modified, [illegible] Chinese society throughout later history.

The Shang preoccupation with propitiating the ancestor spirits anticipated the Zhou practice of regular rites to Heaven, which also were [illegible]. Both the Shang and Zhou cults assumed that the ancestors' needs were very like those of humans. The regular sacrifices offered to these powerful spirits necessitated the ritual vessels that have been the focus of so much Shang and Zhou art history (see pages [illegible] below). Sacrifices were much like a meal for the living, with the exception of blood rites and human victims. Although the ancestor spirits themselves responded to ritual and offerings, their greatest value to the king was as intermediaries to Di. The offerings were a kind of contractual bribe, in [illegible] by which the Shang king obtained certain outcomes for himself and his people. Again, the types of Shang offerings—meat, grain, alcoholic drink, human—anticipate Zhou practices. Over the Late Shang period there was a shift from an open and flexible system of sacrifices to a rigidly scheduled and stereotyped set of rites. Early Western Zhou practices were evidently built on the Late Shang system but manifest considerable change, with less need for alcohol and human blood. The changing repertoire of Western Zhou bronze vessels attests to these changing ritual habits.

The King and the Political Order

As the head of both the royal lineage and the larger polity, the Shang king performed a variety of duties that can be separated into distinct secular/political and religious/familial categories. Every aspect of the king's duties was crucial to his family (living and dead) and to the state. In the Western Zhou period, a similar combination of roles [illegible] the Zhou kings. Many scholars refer to the Shang kings [illegible]. While state organization might be termed [illegible], the ways in which roles were assigned and the [illegible] ultimately was more akin to a family [illegible]. A powerful [illegible] extended lineage [illegible] political organization was a matter of personal obligation to the king, and [illegible].

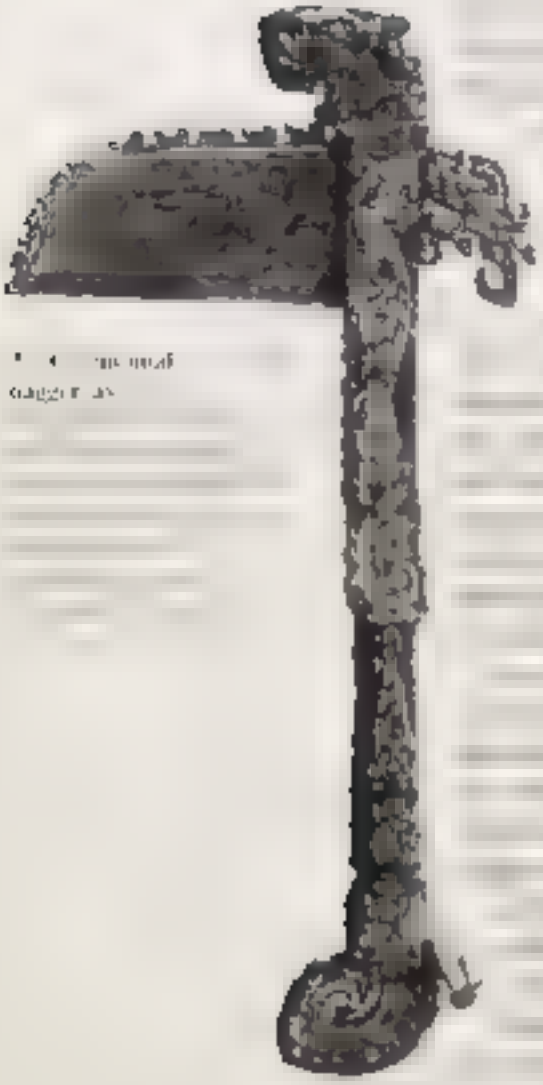
The oracle-bone inscriptions show the Shang king giving orders to commanders [illegible] a new settlement or march a [illegible] military campaign against an enemy. The king's concern about the course of developments [illegible] meat and [illegible] he hunted frequently, [illegible] showing the king. He attends to the weather and harvest, and also engages in a general review [illegible]. The copious inscriptions about sacrifice were simply the first phase of the king's ritual responsibilities. Daily, weekly, and other less frequent sacrifices to royal ancestors and nature spirits occupied a significant part of the king's time. In all of these activities an elite nobility composed of members of the royal lineage and other powerful clans served him. A staff of nascent bureaucracy [illegible] of ritual specialists, diviners, scribes, and military officers met his immediate requirements. The over one hundred and twenty diviners named in the inscriptions may have been drawn from cadet branches of the royal lineage and from other clans. The king was also aided by the royal consorts

as ideology. Some of the texts in the Book of

ments made by the Zhou kings to a defeated Shang

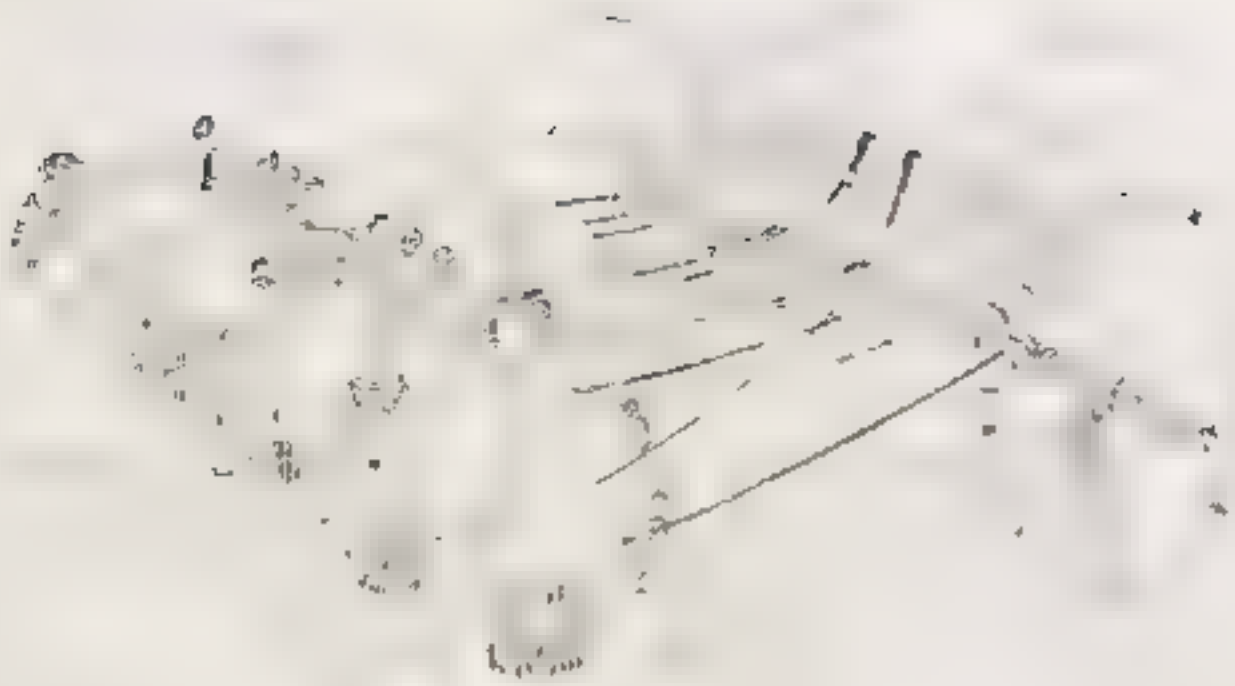
large. Wu Ding was probably an a

also have played a role in a Shang med



CRAFT PROMOTION FOR THE [illegible]

[illegible] they have a higher chance of survival than [illegible] that remained above ground in the hands



Left: Chariot and four-horse team

[illegible]

[illegible] Chariots were a prized possession of the elite, requiring massive investments of time and resources. Wooden parts, including wheels and axles, have disintegrated since the Late Shang period, which is the last datable appearance.

[illegible] Shang and Zhou kings and nobility. Most moral tales suggest a considerable range of social classes and occupations, but material evidence for these classes is [illegible]. A late Eastern Zhou text, *The Artisan's Record* (*Kaogong Ji*), lists many craft specialties perpetuated among hereditary lineages, each with their own special knowledge. Similar family-based skills and knowledge may have been characteristic of Shang and Western Zhou times as well. A few actual workshop sites are known, such as a jade carving site northwest of Xiaotun and the bronze foundry at Miaopu North, both at Anyang, but we do not know if craft workers enjoyed a social or economic status superior to other laborers. A case for favored status has been built on the discovery of a few substantial houses that seem to have been workshops for the production of pottery, jade, and even ancestral spirits, as at the Taixi site [illegible]. But large houses are not in evidence. These crafts were apparently not available to the larger society. Craft production for the elite, however, could well have existed in a direct, stand-and-deliver economic base, one organized or commissioned by the king who supplied raw materials, tools, and workers, and perhaps even food, from home or other sources. Houses and pits excavated around the palace-temple foundations at Xiaotun suggest some craft workshops were located in actual physical proximity to the kings. Their maintenance from royal gratuities and resources would have been easily sustained.

Carving in the Shang period reached high levels, and many features of Shang style originate in the art of carving. Bone carving, not to mention the preparation of scapulas and plastrons for divination, flourished. Bone was the material of choice for pins to gather the long hair of men and women. Fragments of bone objects were recovered from

2.12 Large storage vessel, ha

[illegible] wood with sand, high-temperature firing were [illegible] produce stonewares (Fig. 2.12). For the [illegible] working clay, see page 38.

[illegible] regions from both [illegible] Zhou but may have been [illegible] length drainage zones of [illegible]

[illegible] vessels, usually tan and red, and hollowed [illegible]

[illegible] potters and army at [illegible] [illegible] glaze [illegible]

[illegible] unearthed [illegible] Anyang and Luoyang, all of which such as the [illegible] stonewares [illegible] regions from southern [illegible]

[illegible] and production were analogous to the [illegible] [illegible] in the use of molds.

[illegible]

[illegible] included the ability to exploit [illegible]

[illegible] state economy. It has even been suggested that the Shang [illegible] moved [illegible] necessary for this [illegible] storage, but all vessels employed in the royal cult [illegible] symbols of royal status [illegible] The [illegible] ritual vessels in the royal ancestral temple became tokens of legitimacy. In the [illegible] a new king would seem to have received the mandate, as positive evidence that he enjoyed Heaven's Mandate. The requirements of [illegible] casting (see "Piece-mold Bronze Casting," page [illegible]) included a skilled labor force whose separate chores would be coordinated for high-volume production. The sources had to be found and mined, laborers smelted raw ore into metal ingots that were then transported to foundries. Potters adept at model and mold making, and at turning up wishes on hand, he also invented the

[illegible] suggest that [illegible] and tail [illegible] a substantial [illegible] The [illegible] curved beak, inset eyes, stylized C-shaped ears, and flattened horns at the top of the head are retained in relief [illegible] but do not break form. [illegible] serpents and dragons [illegible] and a mask motif on the chest. The designs and [illegible] are strong.

vessels in the shape of owls from the tomb of [illegible] (Fig. 2.11). The [illegible] important differences are their projecting features—such as ears and horns—made possible by the stronger bronze. The owl exhibited a comfortable volume in the [illegible] of the early reigns of Late Shang, appearing often in jades and bronzes.

Shang and Zhou bronze casting was indebted in significant ways to ceramic technology. Clays

own raw materials and fuel. The casting process itself required special expertise so that the metal could be properly mixed, the pour carefully controlled, the furnace closely monitored. Even cold working, during polishing to finish objects, imposed its own requirements of skill. The production of [illegible] high technology must have created [illegible] among the general population, which perhaps was complemented by rituals performed by the foundries during production.

All aspects of bronze casting as practiced in ancient China seem to have grown up indigenously, in spite of its relatively late appearance and the [illegible] some scholars [illegible] [illegible] like the bone-drawn [illegible] Early [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] they were made [illegible] of the lost wax technique known from ancient Mesopotamia. The study of [illegible] moulds recovered from Anyang sites as early as the [illegible] disproved [illegible]. We know now that a [illegible] casting process was used by the Spring and Autumn period (see chapter 3). Some scholars argue [illegible] by stage [illegible] casting [illegible] history [illegible] [illegible] details on some early ceramic vessels that can be interpreted as evidence for [illegible] other sheet metal [illegible]. This view is not generally accepted.

Bronze is an alloy of copper and tin that does not occur in nature. In ancient China lead was almost always used as well. A ternary (three-part) alloy has several virtues closely related to the proportions of the three metals in the recipe. The addition of tin to copper increases hardness, although a high tin alloy will be brittle. Tin also lowers the melting temperature of the alloy and promotes fluidity, thus improving the ability to fill in all parts of the mold assembly. Lead, on the other hand, improves the ability of the cold metal to take finishing and also [illegible] turning the casting [illegible]. While lead is consistent in Early and Late Shang castings, it may have been present simply as an impurity in copper ores. All of these ores were available in central and north China. Both copper and tin were mined within 190 miles (300 km) of Anyang.

[illegible] was [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] have been found at the Miaopu North foundry site at Anyang and [illegible] Eastern Zhou [illegible] [illegible] vessel for melting [illegible] found at Shang [illegible] pouring [illegible] were [illegible] crucibles typically are made of [illegible] These [illegible] shapes [illegible] as they were heated [illegible] the furnace. Such furnaces did not [illegible] fundamentally [illegible] to melt the alloy [illegible] less than the [illegible]. Once the metal was ready, it had to be poured into a waiting mold assembly. How [illegible] this step [illegible] but one site at Anyang seems to have had a channel [illegible] leading from furnace to casting pit.

Terms of Analysis

Function

The [illegible] bronze objects that [illegible] Shang and Western Zhou bronze vessels were not made [illegible] for display [illegible]. Many vessel types have [illegible] the use of bronze, and some [illegible] the Bronze Age. While specific [illegible] always be determined, [illegible] are represented:

(1) vessels for [illegible] alcoholic beverages, e.g. nos. 2.1, 2.16, 2.18, and for heating, pouring, and drinking the same, e.g. nos. 2.3, 2.15, 2.17
(2) vessels for steaming and serving grain, e.g. nos. 2.19 and 2.20
(3) tripod vessels for cooking meat, e.g. no. 2.14
(4) shallow basins for holding water, perhaps for ablutions, e.g. no. 2.22

Moreover, as more intact assemblages have been excavated, it is quite clear that many vessels were part of sets or ensembles of different types. Members of such sets often share a common decoration. For all of these reasons, it is most [illegible] to [illegible] bronze ritual vessels as [illegible] [illegible].

Unfortunately, there is no direct evidence for how a group of vessels was used on a given occasion prior to the literary sources of Eastern Zhou times. If the rites performed at a Shang altar were represented by sets of vessels, these might be cast as a group at one time or alternatively might be composed of disparate pieces gathered together from different sources, sometimes of different ages and hence rather diverse in appearance. The tomb of Lady Hao, the richest bronze cache ever excavated at Anyang, held over two hundred ritual vessels. About half bore inscriptions naming her and hence were produced for her use (for example, nos. 2.17, 2.19, 2.21 below), perhaps by a single foundry at Anyang. An almost equal number of vessels, however, bear inscriptions naming other owners, which might mean that they were donated to her by mourners at the funeral. On the other hand, [illegible] [illegible] center contained vessels that clearly predate the period of the burial; they were probably collected from ancestral altars or other sources, not merely the needs of the funeral rites. A large cache of Western Zhou vessels uncovered at Zhuangbai in Shaanxi consisted of items made for a single family over several generations. The fact that they were cached at one time indicates the family held onto many vessels used by their ancestors. Both patterns of use and the status or wealth of the user determined ritual sets.

The names by which the various types are designated today were for the most part derived from ancient Chinese writings by antiquarian scholars of the Song dynasty (960–1279). For some types—such as *ding*, *gui*, *he*, *jia*, *jue*, *li*, *yan*, *zun*, *you*—are also found in oracle-bone or bronze inscriptions. However, the most common terms in bronze inscriptions of the Late Shang and Western Zhou periods are broader phrases, for example, "precious revered sacrificial vessel" (*bao zun yi*). This phrase may be found on virtually any type; only some of the Shang- and Zhou-period [illegible] has been reconstructed, and clearly it [illegible] entirely correspond to later antiquarian and archaeological usages.

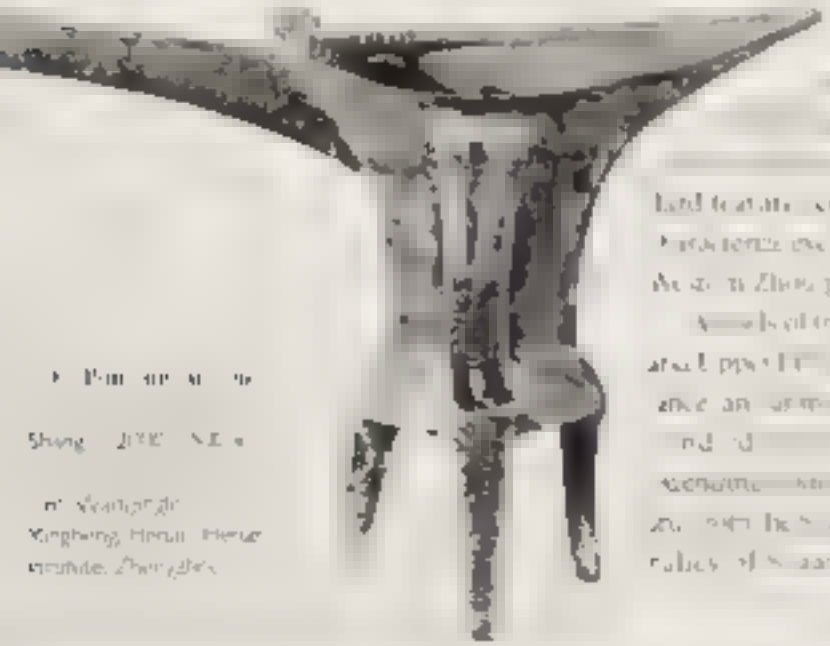
Individual vessel types match different kinds of handling and use. Vessels with [illegible] and supports are an important component of early bronze assemblages; the earliest [illegible] may be the [illegible] (see no. 2.13 below), [illegible] of several types with a [illegible] base. Three or four legs allowed the container to be placed [illegible] [illegible] an irregular surface [illegible]. [illegible] deposits of soot attest to this use. The pouring trough [illegible] would be suitable for a libation or for [illegible] the alcoholic beverage [illegible] such as the [illegible] cup (see no. [illegible] above). Moreover, [illegible] a *jia*, which has a [illegible] mouth but no [illegible] (see no. 2.[illegible]). Since [illegible] are also usually larger than [illegible], we may [illegible] they were used to heat a large quantity of beverage which was then ladled out. The most [illegible] type is the tripod *ding*, used in cooking meat [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] Zhou and Han periods [illegible] nine or even eleven [illegible] for important [illegible] [illegible] supported by the [illegible] of [illegible] Shang and Zhou *ding*. The [illegible] handles [illegible] *ding* allowed [illegible] and [illegible] the fire, but clearly these vessels [illegible] smaller [illegible] as the smaller *jue*. The repertoire of types and [illegible] was [illegible] to meet the [illegible] of those officiating at the rites.

While Late Shang assemblages have a [illegible] [illegible] that [illegible] the performance of a certain rite with certain offerings, it is unlikely that ritual sets were entirely stable. The most common set throughout the Shang period is a pouring cup (*jue*) and drinking goblet (*gu*). This in turn suggests that many rites involved [illegible] alcoholic beverages. [illegible] most [illegible] is the addition of a meat-cooking vessel (*ding*) and the larger beverage-warming type (the *jia*) to the *jue-gu* pair, which allowed a meat offering and warming of the drink for the [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]



[illegible]

Shang [illegible]

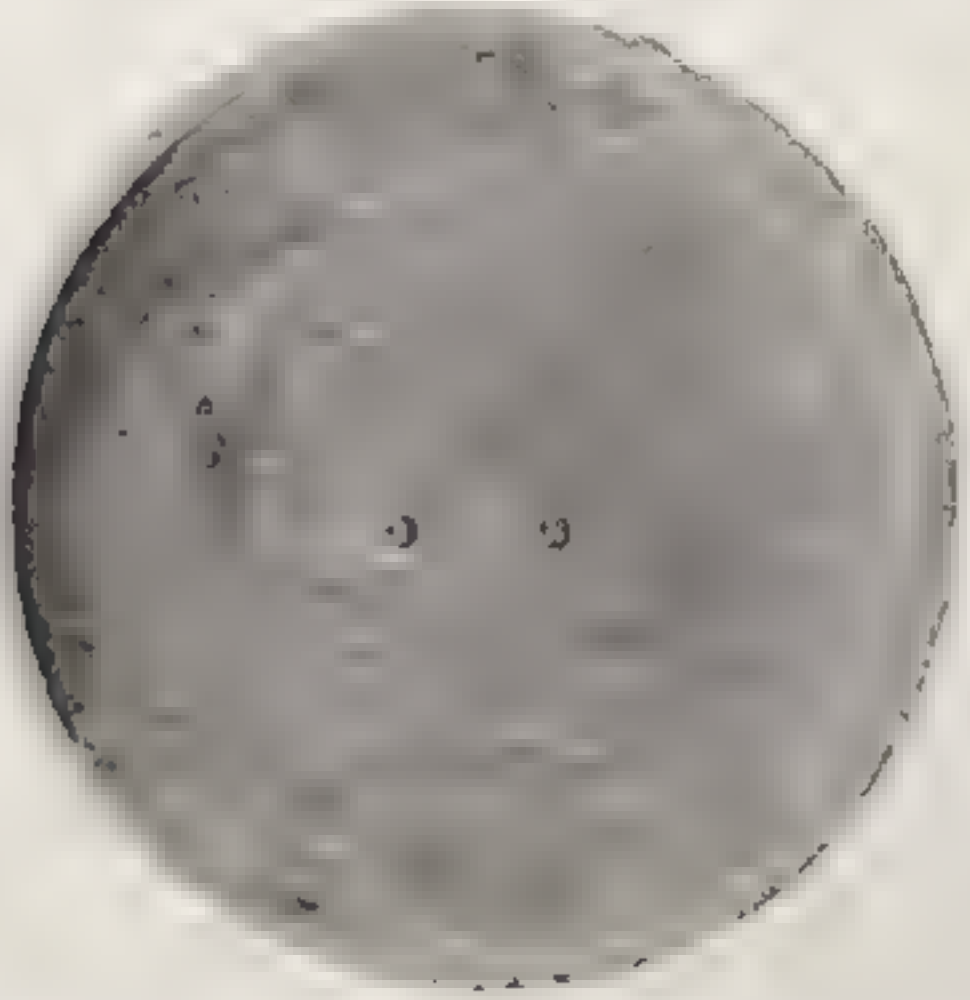
[illegible]
Yinghong Hong [illegible]
[illegible] Zhengzhou

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Metal and Mountings

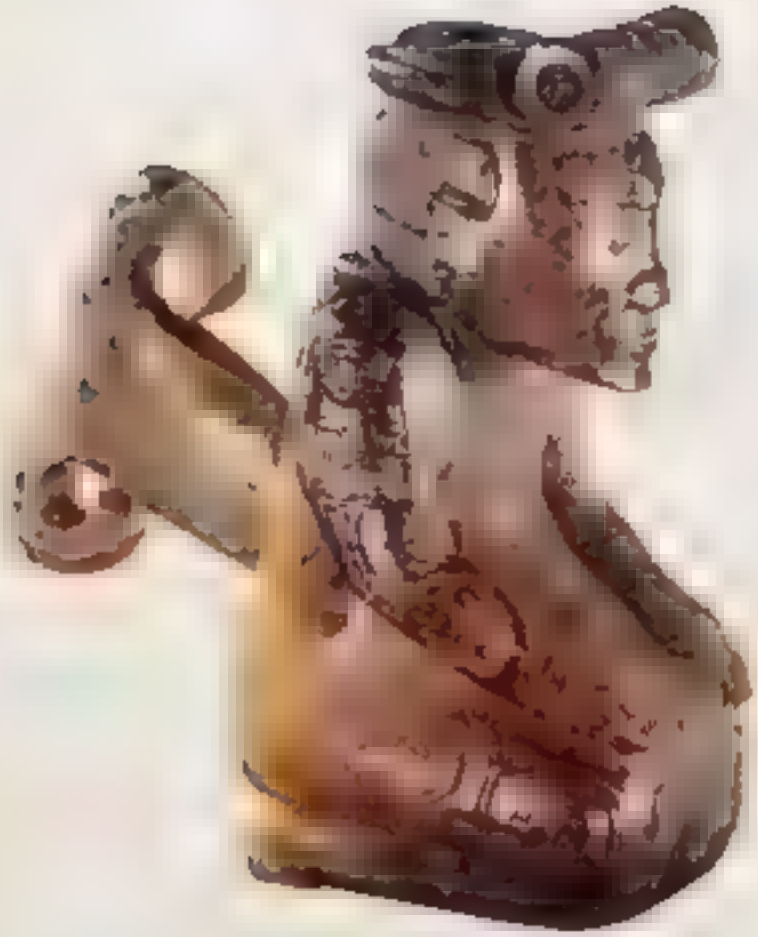


2-2a Dragon, long-muzzled monitor of a water basin Perth

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]



2. [illegible] dog figure

4. [illegible]

in bronze decoration. They are at present more commonly found outside of Anyang (see pages 8[illegible]–87 below). Small stone and jade carvings [illegible] from tomb 5 at Anyang are important examples of [illegible] (fig. 2.[illegible]). [illegible] one of these [illegible] in the round are shown kneeling. They [illegible] another seemingly nude, a hand perhaps at [illegible] standing figure may be male or female [illegible]. Within the field of bronze objects, only human faces are seen at Anyang [illegible]. These include a bronze face mask from a royal tomb [illegible] marked by [illegible] rather [illegible] (fig. 2.24). A [illegible] from Hunan [illegible] known example found outside Anyang, [illegible] carrying a large [illegible] modeled face (see fig. 2.25 below). There is not enough evidence from Anyang to argue that human imagery was of great consequence in the Shang royal cult.

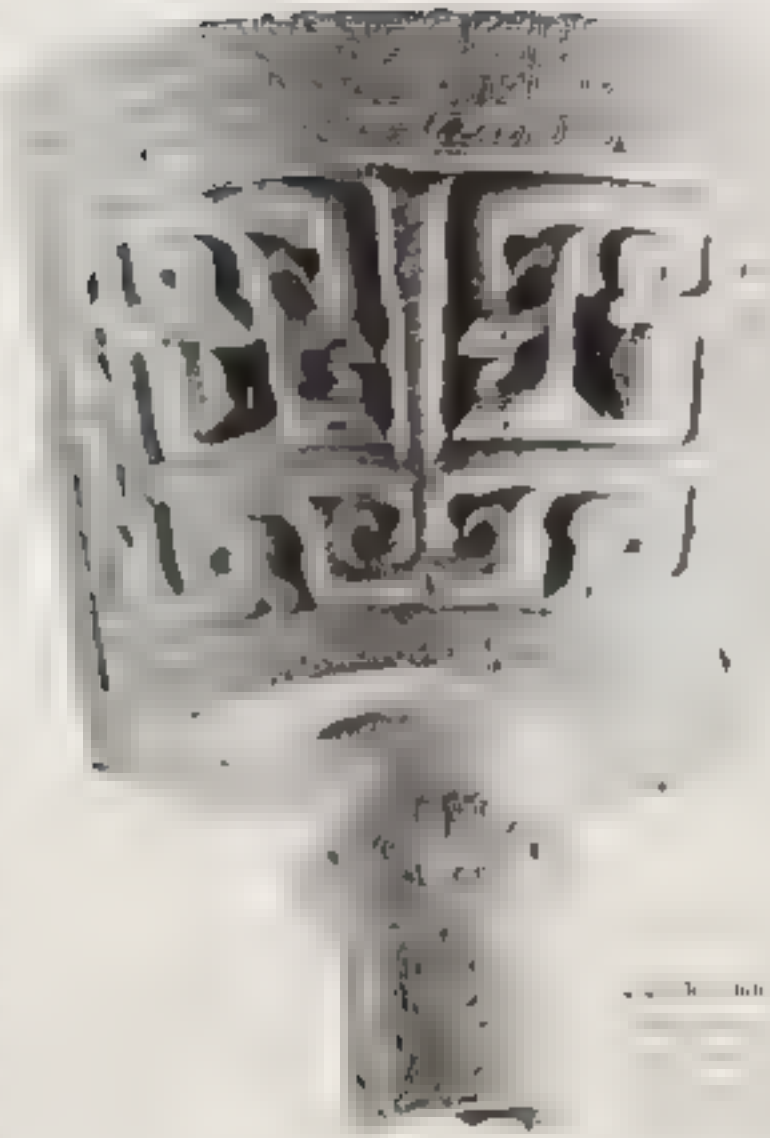
Recent discoveries in the southwest, the Upper Yangzi macroregion (see pages 86–87), place this discussion in a new context. The large, life-size human figure cast in bronze (see fig. 2.28 below) and the many masks and heads with human features from the Sanxingdui site make quite the opposite argument for the cultic needs and practices of this culture, which seems to have flourished contemporaneously with the Late Shang period at Anyang. Unlike the Anyang cult, in the Upper Yangzi macroregion human actors (shamans?) or anthropomorphic recipients of offerings (deities, ancestors?) may have been quite significant. One should ponder the possibility that similar imagery may once have existed at Anyang but was not rendered in durable materials except in the small stone and jade carvings.

Unlike the prehistoric cultures surveyed in chapter 1, we understand the Late Shang period in part through contemporaneous documents created for the Shang kings. There is an implicit challenge to harmonize the evidence of these texts with the material archaeological data, including the visual properties of objects. Questions about ideology and world view documented in the divination records (the existence of the High God, the role of ancestors) can be further investigated through a careful analysis of visual culture. If Shang society and its world view were attuned with the values of hierarchy, order, and [illegible], it is not surprising that vessels and their decor[illegible] [illegible] these qualities. It is tempting to [illegible] of the [illegible] the separation of living and dead [illegible] of positive and negative [illegible] human beings, spirits, and [illegible] powers [illegible] [illegible] in relation to the power of visual culture [illegible]

BEYOND SHANG AND ZHOU

Two models govern most discussions of the early Bronze Age, especially the Shang state and its relations with surrounding peoples. In the received historiographic model, that of the Three Dynasties, the Shang kings held power over a wide territory following the demise of the Xia and prior to their conquest by the Zhou. Other, culturally less advanced peoples existed on the margins of these three states, sometimes in conflict, sometimes peacefully. This Three Dynasties model prefigures power relations in historic periods, projecting traits of much later times onto the earliest states. It also posits a large measure of cultural homogeneity among the peoples of Xia, Shang, and Zhou. Most discussions of the E[illegible] [illegible] China today assume it represents the culture of the Xia. The archaeological continuities between Erlitou and Erligang, between Erligang and Anyang, and between Anyang and Western Zhou therefore constitute an important argument for long-term cultural unity.

More modern interpretations apply a center and periphery model, often expressed in terms of metropolitan and provincial cultures. Much of the archaeological work of the last five decades has surveyed cultures in the regions surrounding North China in the period contemporaneous with the Shang occupation of Zhengzhou and Anyang. Finds in other macroregions are generally described as offshoots or parallel developments with regional characteristics. One liability of this model is the implicit assumption of cultural superiority



[illegible] Upper Yangtze region, another [illegible] discoveries have [illegible] excavations ever more [illegible] Sanxingdui [illegible] jade [illegible] and [illegible] Among [illegible] pits [illegible] Shang [illegible] the [illegible] Middle Yangtze [illegible] The pits are [illegible] heads more than [illegible] bronze masks [illegible] as large as life on a high pedestal [illegible]

[illegible] Pit No. 2 is a [illegible] standing figure about nearly [illegible] high. A plain block serves as a pedestal, but the figure actually stands on a smaller square plinth [illegible] by four heads with long noses, bulging eyes, and horns that meet the four corners of the plinth. The figure, erect and stalwart, is clothed in a long gown with pointed hem at the feet, long sleeves, and a cape that crosses from right to left. A second outer garment like a skirt is visible at the front, and there are designs on both garments that suggest metals in the cloth. Thick arms extend from the shoulders and terminate in oversized hands that form circles, presumably to hold something now absent, such as an elephant tusk.

The figures heads and face share many features with other heads and masks. The head seems to be surmounted by headgear with parallel rising from a band. The wide, flat and straight mouth are parallel, but without expression or visible teeth. The nose and cheeks are deeply [illegible]. The eyes bulge, almond-shaped slits. The irises resemble knife blades over the eyes. Large ears stick out from each side of the head, with holes for earrings [illegible]. Most of the bronze heads are similar in essential features, but most lack head band or headdress. Their necks extend downward to points in front and back but do not have complete representations. Several heads had gold foil applied to their surfaces. Most of the masks are also similar in their facial details. [illegible] differ in that they were cast as sheets shaped to represent only the sides and front. Other [illegible] are the complete [illegible] looking at [illegible]

[illegible] were [illegible] available for protohistoric China we could comment on the [illegible] human images in general, [illegible] of large scale figural images in [illegible] Shang [illegible] were made [illegible] possibility [illegible] were [illegible] mounted on light wooden stands [illegible] presumably [illegible] large religious [illegible] Jade and ivory consigned to the sacrificial pits where these images were deposited suggests [illegible] known from the Shang oracle bone texts or from [illegible] Zhou [illegible] Tassels [illegible] bronze [illegible]

[illegible] the hands in front. Mesopotamia or Egypt [illegible] Shang [illegible] Zhou [illegible] temporary with the [illegible] Among [illegible] are not well documented, but the [illegible] at relatively high levels in [illegible] Shang [illegible] If we use a term such as Shang [illegible] to design all of these [illegible] and less use of [illegible] we observe that term in the discussion of kings [illegible] at Anyang [illegible] at the beginning of this chapter then we must [illegible] a new terminology for the other bronze using peoples of ancient China. Even though this terminology can be [illegible] the Upper

[illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

THE LATE BRONZE AGE
EASTERN ZHOU

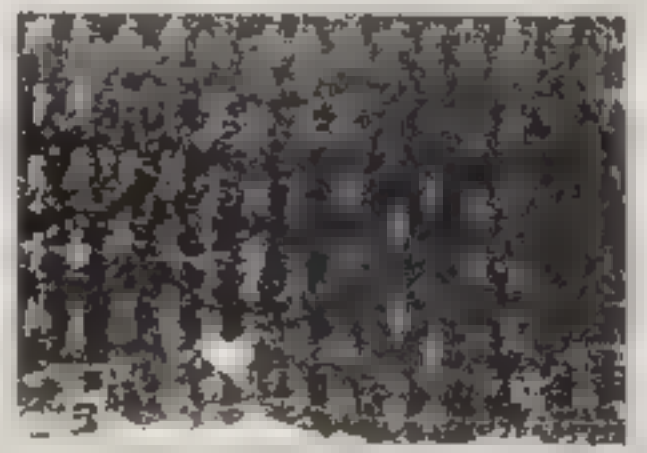
Political instability in the North and Northwest macroregions became the foundation for historical events of the Eastern Zhou period (770–256 B.C.). This period takes its name from a watershed event: the displacement of the royal Zhou capital from west (the Wei River valley, modern Shaanxi) to east (Luoyang, modern Henan). The removal of the capital resulted in the temporary loss of the Zhou heartland to a non-Zhou people, the Quan Rong, who had lived on the borders and whose depredations had become increasingly bold and costly. By shifting his center of rule to the ancient secondary capital of Luoyang, the Zhou king Ping Wang and his advisors hoped to create a more secure realm. In act, this shift also signaled the rise of powerful regional lords who eventually took the privileges and even the title of "king" (wang) for themselves. They practiced de facto sovereignty over their domains while maintaining a semblance of their obligations to the Zhou "Son of Heaven." Later historians have subdivided Eastern Zhou into two periods: the "Spring and Autumn" period (roughly 770–450 B.C.) and the "Warring States" period (roughly 450–221 B.C.). Both terms derive from texts. The so-called *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chun qiu*), traditionally attributed to Confucius, records events at the court of Lu. The *Intrigues (or Stratagems) of the Warring States* (*Zhan guo ce*), on the other hand, is a collection of anecdotes emphasizing the persuasive arguments of court advisors during that era of great turmoil.

The Zhou domain never extended a thousand li (500 km) in length, but the domains of the great regional powers, however, grew steadily at the expense of weaker states. As these regional powers became stronger economically and politically, they spread the ancient culture of the Zhou over an ever wider territory. Modeling their states on the royal Zhou court and their rivals on the royal Zhou rites, they came to dominate much of the North, Northwest, Middle Yangzi, and Lower Yangzi macroregions by the fifth century B.C. This expanded area became the crucible in which a common culture was alloyed. Gradually the strong states forged the apparatus that would be necessary for imperial unification under the Qin during the third century B.C. (see chapter 4).

STATE AND SOCIETY

The lords who ruled the territories of eight hundred B.C. China were, in theory, a hereditary aristocracy, the successor beneficiaries of the royal Zhou lineage. Their birthright to rule was an hereditary event, but separate ambitions frequently led to diplomatic and military maneuvers against one another. Serving these lords were high-ranking ministers (qing and dafu), also hereditary elites. At a lower level were men of warrior (shi) status. Over the course of the period, the rise of ministers and warriors changed the social and political structure of Zhou society. Noble

1. Standing warrior support from chime
Eastern Zhou, late 6th–early 5th B.C., bronze, height 9 in. (23.5 cm), Tomb of Marquis Yi, Suizhou, Hubei. Hubei Sheng Bowuguan, Wuchang



houses [illegible] local lords were deposed by assertive minister families, and in parallel fashion warriors also gained power. This process continued and [illegible] into the Warring States period. The social [illegible] [illegible] progress was observed [illegible] compared [illegible] expressed in the [illegible] of the age, [illegible] of these writings [illegible] remedies to this [illegible] positive links between [illegible] nobility has been [illegible] segments of [illegible] society [illegible] manifestations [illegible]. The [illegible] social prestige and political power [illegible] the economic base, with a consequent decrease [illegible] of elite craft production.

The elite [illegible] of the society as a whole. [illegible] estimates of the population of the seven strong states during the third century BC are as high as 50 million [illegible] less than one percent could qualify as elite, something in the order of half a million persons of all ages and both genders. To be a member of this segment of society meant that one was born to a noble lineage, either the Zhou house and its [illegible] branches, or other ancient lineages which owed their high status to the early Zhou kings. As society changed, however, more [illegible] more members of the elite were actually [illegible] of ministers and warriors who had [illegible] their status [illegible]. Again, admission was through birth, a legacy of [illegible]. To be [illegible] meant residence in a city [illegible] as described below, and hence a [illegible] style with the daily routines and pleasures [illegible] of [illegible] power. [illegible] a range of material benefits [illegible] and [illegible] to diet and entertainment [illegible] were small and [illegible] status markers and were carefully regulated. To be elite also entailed [illegible] and ritual obligations for males within the [illegible] as a head of household and within the state as a warrior, court officer, or attendant to a [illegible]

States of the Warring States Period

Zhou Urbanism

Over the six centuries of the Eastern Zhou period the number of states declined dramatically, from more than one hundred initially to a small group of seven strong states by the third century BC. During this period [illegible] cities were [illegible] much of North China in a three-tiered hierarchy. At the pinnacle of each state was its capital, the seat of its lord and home of his ancestral temples. These seats became the major urban centers of the era, and a few, [illegible] of Qi, had a sizable population. Its population is estimated to have been about [illegible]. State capitals featured royal palaces within their own small walled city as well as storage, markets and workshops. At an intermediate level were the seats of [illegible]. Their settlements [illegible] lineage temples. At the lowest level [illegible] walled [illegible] houses and some small [illegible] activity and craft production. The archaeology of this period has been focused on the several dozen best-preserved state capitals, and traces

3-4 Plan of Linzi of Qi

of intermediate and lower level settlements have rarely been identified.

Most Eastern Zhou cities were situated on flat terrain with good water resources such as a nearby river that could fill the moats and provide reliable drinking water. Walls were often aligned in relation to magnetic north to create more or less regular quadrilateral figures. Many cities were expanded over time by adding additional walled tracts. Entry was controlled by gates in the walls, and these in turn determined the path of major arteries across cities. Within the walled area were residential and workshop zones, although the population also clustered outside. The lord's palace was generally segregated from the rest of the city by its own walls. Large raised terraces of hard pounded earth used for palace structures often survive. By the Warring States period, large cities were well-furnished citadels able to contain and protect their residents and resources against a siege.

The capital of the state of Qi at Linzi in modern-day Shandong lies on the west bank of the Zi River (Fig. 3-4). It was established in the mid-ninth century and occupied for more than six hundred years until Qi surrendered to Qin in 221 BCE. The main walls of the city describe an irregular rectangle with long dimensions running

3-5 Plan of Lower Capital of Yan

The "Royal City" Plan

[illegible]

[illegible] that period [illegible]

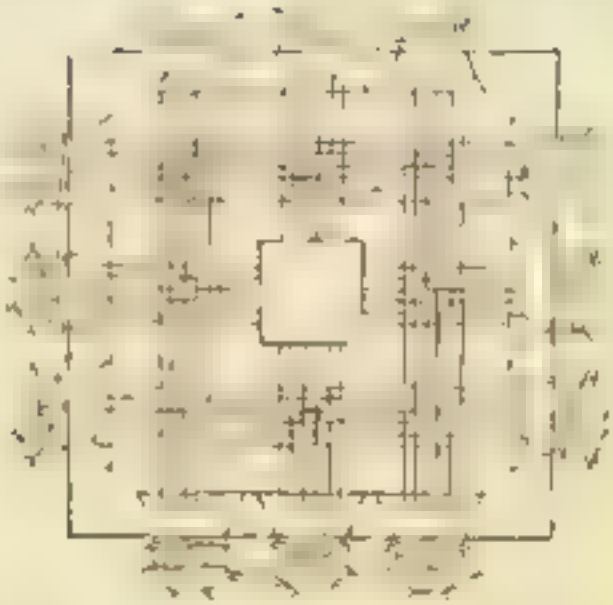
[illegible]

[illegible] not east-west?

[illegible] of the ruler's central position, while the altar of soil was sited to the right. The ruler's court faced south, while the market was [illegible]. Both market and court are each one hundred [illegible] square.

Visualizing this cryptic text has challenged scholars for many generations [illegible] the ruler [illegible] than center of [illegible]

[illegible] plan after [illegible]



The nine squares are a [illegible] some [illegible] Moreover, the city and its wards will be much affected by how the three gates allotted to each side are placed along the walls. Many commenta[illegible] imagined three portals, so that each [illegible] of three road[illegible] ways. Then the nine avenues of the text [illegible] converted to three [illegible] three in [illegible] several much later

[illegible] prescriptions of this "royal city plan" to heart, for example the Sui-Tang capital Chang'an (see [illegible] below). The Yuan capital of Dadu, precursor of Beijing, [illegible] an approximately square shape with three gates to east, south and west, and two at the north. Its palace [illegible] placed to [illegible] with temple and altar [illegible] the [illegible] plan.

[illegible] wall [illegible] in place. The walls

[illegible]

[illegible] 2 [illegible] The [illegible] was protected by moats as much as [illegible] 40 feet wide by [illegible] feet deep [illegible] by [illegible] from the river. [illegible] gates give access, and a network of major [illegible] highways crossed the city. Water was also funneled into the city to supply the residents and connect the moats and river.

[illegible]

[illegible] 4 [illegible] while a royal tomb [illegible] west corner. The [illegible] foundations was 455 by 360 [illegible] at the base and rose through [illegible]

3-8 Door escutcheon with knocker

3-7 Burial district of Zhongshan kings

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

of the underground army of the first Emperor of Qin.

The most [illegible] weapons [illegible] designed for stabbing and [illegible] warriors facing oil. Pictorial [illegible] vessels frequently show [illegible]

Man holding lamp

in their ends. There were also bows and arrows [illegible] use as the end [illegible] the period. Swords intended for hand-to-hand [illegible] often a part of elite burials, and pic[illegible] scenes suggest they were used by [illegible]

[illegible] ELITE

Neither the growth of cities nor the changes in war are could have taken place without a strong economic base. The Eastern Zhou period is char[illegible]

[illegible] standardized [illegible] and [illegible] pro[illegible] period, as did wide use [illegible] coinage. [illegible] the [illegible] sponsored [illegible] population by organizing the peasantry for war[illegible] hand, and by exact the levies of [illegible] the other. Private and [illegible] appeared at this time. Cities [illegible] have been estab[illegible]

These regional economies relied on the expl[illegible] of available natural resources, large scale war slaughter, [illegible] in cities, considerable specialized production, and interregional tradi[illegible] when the new state [illegible] example, was known [illegible] quer silk, hemp, linen, lacquered [illegible] salt, sea food [illegible] large nets. The wealthiest state of the ho[illegible] specialized in the [illegible] and [illegible] products as well [illegible] copper and gold. The states of Wu and Yue were noted for their sw[illegible]

Luxury Life styles

Personal Attire

The attributes of elite status—dress, adornments, weapons, chariots, and the like—served to demarcate and make distinctions within stratified classes atop the great mass of the population. Texts [illegible] become ever abundant evidence for these perquisites, and ever more archaeology has brought

many of these observations to life. Pictorial and sculptural art also represents some members of elite society, although non-elite persons are actually more common. The [illegible] gradually came to be conceived as a gentleman (junzi), a superior man whose intellectual and moral character [illegible] [illegible] command [illegible] [illegible] from the time of [illegible] (traditional dates 551–479 BCE) [illegible] find the ideal found in a variety of thinkers during subsequent centuries. A gentleman was schooled in the six arts [illegible] social [illegible] music, archery, [illegible] writing, and calculation. These six kinds of expertise encompass the forms of social life, ritual practice, the martial abilities required of a warrior, and the practical skills needed by a court official.

Detailed renderings of costume are rare, but several small-scale sculptures give us an idea of the attire of the day. A lamp in the form of a standing male figure from one of the royal Zhongshan tombs is among the most complete renderings of dress and grooming (fig. 3-9). Given the animals he tends, this figure can hardly be a high-ranking person, but he is nonetheless elegantly dressed. The figure stands on a large square base, shoes and skirt exposed by the split hem of a long, one-piece outer robe. This [illegible] across the chest [illegible] garment cinched at the waist by a belt with a hook. The sleeves are cut to hang with ample cuffs. The head, made from silver with black stones inlaid for eyes, shows a face as clean-shaven or plucked of any facial hair except a neat moustache. The man's long hair is pulled off the forehead and gathered at the neck by a combination of hairpins and bows. A chin strap holds a small hat in place on top of the head.

This kind of attire was probably common among elite classes during the Warring States period, during which separate top (yi) and bottom (shang) garments were replaced by a single-piece outer robe (shenyi). There was considerable variety in the cut of these garments: robes could be straight or more ample, sleeves narrow or wide. Collars varied as well, and, like cuffs and lapels, [illegible] those long robes [illegible] very well perform physical labor, surely one of the messages conveyed by their garments. More[illegible] were [illegible] made [illegible] for the display of rich colors and lavish patterns, and thus for registering additional messages about status and wealth. Some of this attire is known from a small tomb at Mashan near Jiangling (Hubei), the capital region of Chu. This burial, attributed to a woman of the warrior class, has been dated to the middle of the Warring States period, the late fourth century BCE. The deceased was dressed and wrapped in a large assortment of silk garments, including long outer robes, [illegible] inner robes, skirts, leggings, shoes, and cap. In addition to the tailored garments, hampers also contained pieces of silk fabric with extraordinary embroidery (fig. 3-10). One striking scheme combines patterns of birds, dragons, and [illegible] interlaced with [illegible]. The detail shown is taken from a light-weight robe covered with an overall interlace pattern and a [illegible] motif of [illegible]. Upon closer inspection the interlace itself is found to contain dragons and birds, their body parts rendered by curved stitches. The principal figures stand out through their strong color and pattern and are placed onto the matrix of interlace at intervals in alternating confronting and addorsed (back to back) profiles. The taste for complex patterns composed of the bodies and parts of both real and imaginary animals is common to most of the arts of this period, including bronzes, lacquer wares, and jades.

Such finery was complemented by accessories such as hardstone necklaces, jade pendants

3-10 Detail of embroidered sleeve
[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

Making Lacquer Wares

product

ion has depended on tomb chamber

In this respect the tomb of the Mar

anzi modern Hu

provinces have been the best repo

nes of lacquer objects as well as other

perishable goods such as sil

ac is the sap of a tree nat

the cultivated varnish medium. Lacquer is

color of a new

were made in this way. Finally a hollow

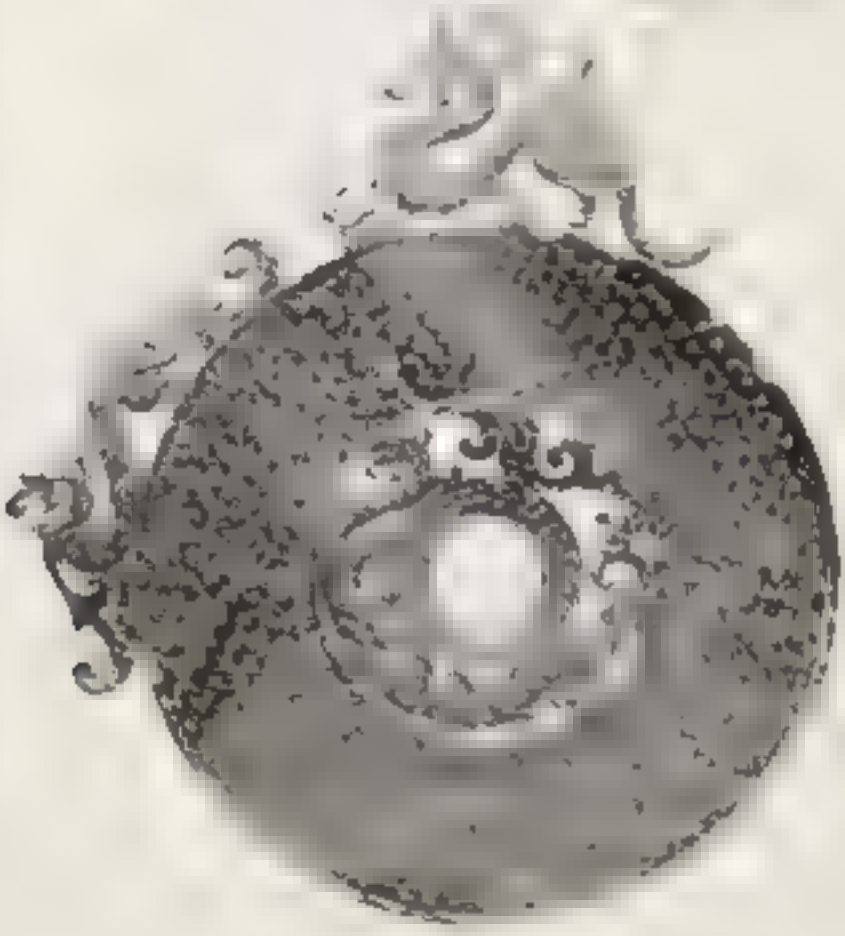
were fashi

lacquer. The intended shape

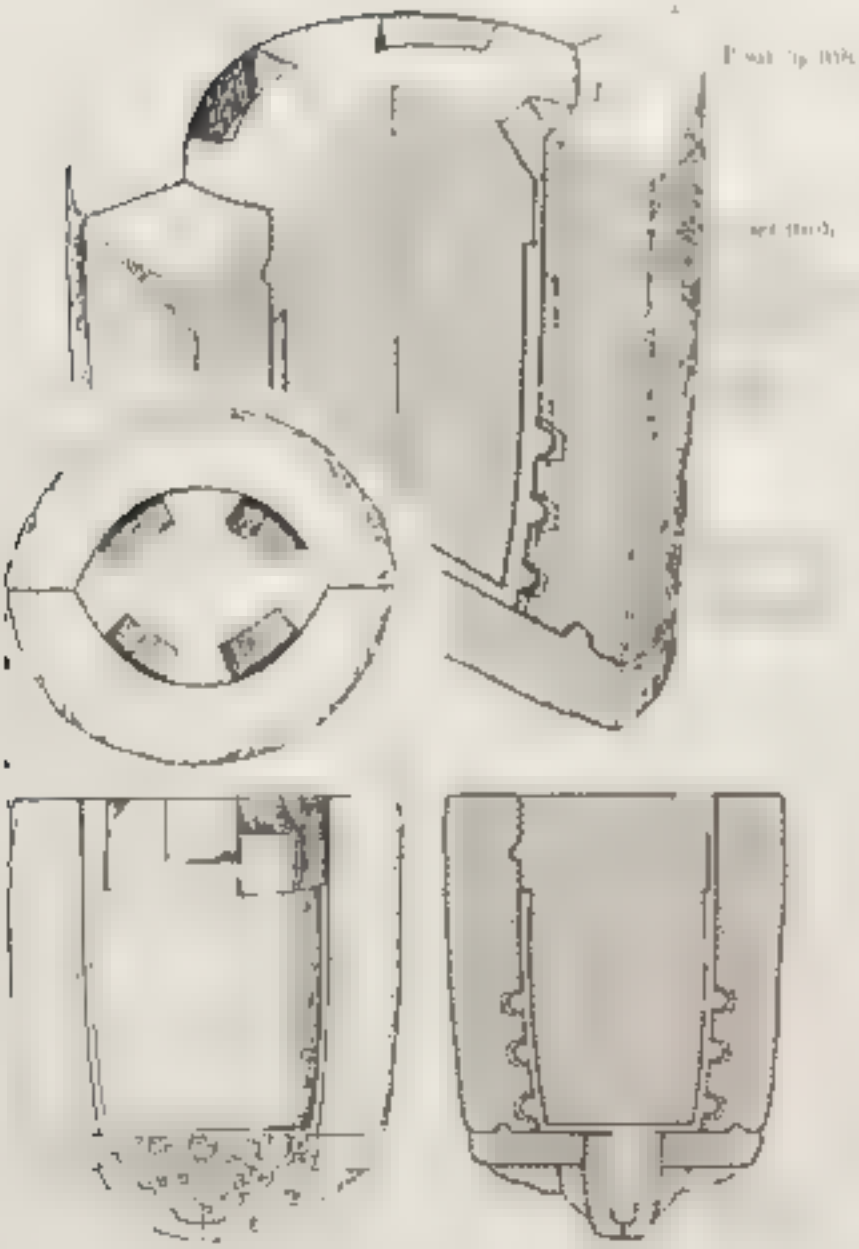
ed by holding the

a wooden or clay mold as the lacquer

objects possible



necessitated grinding out much of the surface. Features of the dragons and feline are rendered by incised lines. Many examples of this style of jade working are associated with Chu, such as a number of excavated objects from Former (or Western) Han contexts such as princely tombs at Suizhong (Hebei, see fig. 4.13 below) and Canton (or Guangzhou, Guangdong, see fig. 4.15). Are the excavated examples such pieces buried in Han times, or is a Warring States dating the style mistaken? It is possible that a Warring States jade workshop continued under imperial



casting assembly for bell

patronage during the early Former Han. This is one of several communities in craft production that will be examined further in chapter 4.

The Bronze Industry

The industry most essential to the support of the state, the elite, and their lifestyle was the production of bronze. The use of bronze vessels and musical instruments in ancestral temples and at court banquets and other ceremonies was integral to an active process of legitimation. By continually demonstrating their right to rule, the rulers of the eastern Zhou strengthened their control over society. Bronze weapons were the key to strengthening the arms of the state when diplomacy failed, and other bronze objects, from belt buckles, rings to mirrors and garment hooks, formed part of displays of social status. Bronze was also the medium for coinage that promoted the integration of the various state economies. Not least, agricultural production was dependent upon the use of bronze implements.

Extensive evidence of mining comes from several sites in the Middle and Lower Yangzi macroregions. On the Yangzi River to the east of the great lake system, the most extensive remains of a major mining and smelting site at Tonglu Shan (Daye, Hubei). The place-names suggest a long standing association with ore deposits and smelting. Tonglu Shan, for example, might be translated as "Verdigris Mountain," and local records attest that the copper on the surface that powered the town of Daye County might be remembered as "Great Smelter." This archaeological site lies within an active modern open pit mining complex producing iron ore. Huge quantities of slag from ancient smelters at Tonglu Shan bearing traces of copper are rich in iron. Thus, ore bodies first exploited for their copper became valuable for their iron. At Tonglu Shan, the mining required open trenches, vertical shafts, and horizontal underground galleries. Digging followed the ore bodies from surface exposures into the earth, sometimes as much as 200 feet (60 m) below ground level. Early shafts were generally small, many less than a yard square. Over time, as the deposits were followed further and further

3-15 Altar aids

Casting technology also changed during this period in ways that complemented the traditional section-mold process (see "Piece-mold Bronze Casting," page [illegible]). Most objects were still cast in a single pour using an assembly of many sections, [illegible] separately [illegible] ornate appendages, [illegible] attachment [illegible] such as a knob, handle, or flange, was first cast separately [illegible] a bronze mold; the component was then

[illegible] when the pour took place. Components were also soldered to the vessel [illegible] common. A new inlay technique for adorning motifs [illegible] became popular, mainly in southern foundries. Pure copper was cast as thin sheets in the shape of [illegible] patterns. The elements were then mounted on the [illegible] mold section, which [illegible] cast, the copper was locked into [illegible]. The effect achieved was [illegible] patterns of copper on the bronze [illegible] but the [illegible] out [illegible] as one using a lost-wax [illegible].

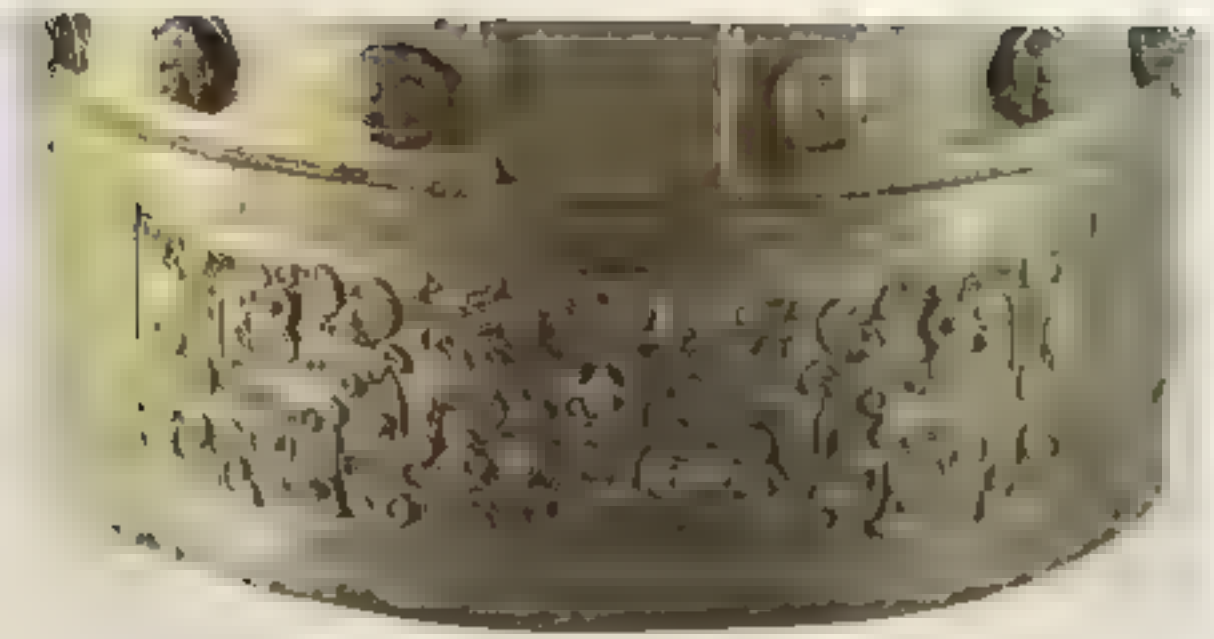
[illegible] process [illegible] from the [illegible] of late Spring and Autumn period (late seventh–early sixth century), originating in southern foundries. [illegible] lost-wax technique [illegible] three-dimensional interlace appendages on a [illegible] vessel [illegible] technique. [illegible] mid-fifth century tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng [illegible] wax was shaped into the desired component, such as the many [illegible] of twisting [illegible] used for the altar table found in Tomb 2 at Xiasi [illegible]. After these fragments were invested with a clay matrix, completely filling all of the interstices, the mold could be baked. The wax fragments [illegible] alloy was then poured into the cavities. Most lost-wax appendages were subsequently soldered on.

The powerful states of the Eastern Zhou period maintained their own foundries, but evidence remains scant, with the notable exception of Houma in the state of Jin. Both commercial transactions and [illegible] gift giving circulated vessels between states and across regions. Comparable vessels and [illegible] were being produced at the same time in several regions. The states of the central plains, including Jin, represent one such regional tradition; in fact, many vessels found at sites in Henan, Shanxi, and neighboring zones could well have originated from Houma. Likewise, many vessels [illegible] the [illegible] states of [illegible] and [illegible] eastern states of Qi and Lu [illegible] south [illegible] and west [illegible]. Any discussion of Eastern Zhou [illegible] regional [illegible] as well as [illegible] broader developments.

Important [illegible] changes [illegible] bronze vessels [illegible] grave goods [illegible] This [illegible] Decorated vessels [illegible] the [illegible] of vessels [illegible] period. [illegible] Spring and Autumn and Warring States [illegible] for [illegible] serving [illegible]. Sets of [illegible] varying in size and number, with or without [illegible], were normally [illegible] serving [illegible] changed considerably [illegible] Western Zhou and early Eastern Zhou [illegible] supplemented [illegible] such as the dou and [illegible]. All [illegible] containers [illegible] suggests a greater [illegible] could actually be used to serve [illegible] grain offerings. Wine containers were generally represented [illegible]. Hu in particular were often monumental and some were enhanced with elaborate appendages that make them the most striking vessels of a set. Other vessels used as wine containers include various guan and [illegible] are of rather simple form and decoration.

The Spring and Autumn Period

Vessels made during the early and middle Spring



[illegible]

[illegible] It is [illegible] [illegible] which became [illegible] [illegible] also was [illegible]

[illegible] Zhou [illegible] and [illegible] County [illegible] larger containers [illegible] tions involves the kind of elaboration. A cooking [illegible] type, a food-serving vessel, cannot grow too large before it becomes impossible to handle.

A third assemblage of the Spring and Autumn [illegible] vessels [illegible] Tomb 251 [illegible] been assigned to a high [illegible] The vessels are clearly products of the Houma foundry and have much in common with the [illegible] of the 1972 [illegible] The vessels such as the [illegible] ding and the musical bells are decorated with a dragon interlace pattern that required [illegible] detail in the preparation of the molds. Although dragon elements are discernible, the borders [illegible] tions and scales on the ribbons and the many [illegible] create a rich relief surface in which [illegible] able animal elements are downplayed [illegible] motif itself can be seen more clearly in the loops of bells and in a frontal mask motif (Fig. 3.7[illegible]

well informed lords and [illegible]

[illegible] contrast with the broadly [illegible] varied contours of many [illegible] as examples from Xinzheng [illegible] accommodated natural [illegible] animals such as [illegible] birds [illegible] there were a [illegible] shape [illegible]

These three assemblages [illegible] of the Spring and Autumn period [illegible]

dragon and interlace patterns derived from [illegible] Western Zhou motifs. Many types [illegible] ding, pan and yi are relatively constant in time and space; little energy seems to have been invested in devising new versions or in elaborating these types. [illegible]

appearances, for example, [illegible] Xinzheng tombs, deceased [illegible] with [illegible]

[illegible] Wine vessel fu[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] and lacquer wares see chs. 7

[illegible]

RITUAL AND REPRESENTATION

gold, copper and stone such as turquoise al[illegible]
[illegible] prominently in Warring States tombs [illegible]

ate Spring and Autumn period as shown
be cast copper
[illegible] of the g[illegible]

he central plains were a major source of
sets and other objects found in t[illegible]
[illegible] compare [illegible] Fig. 3.9). A fine
example of this [illegible] from the period is
a lacquered h[illegible] the Eastern Cemetery of
[illegible] in the

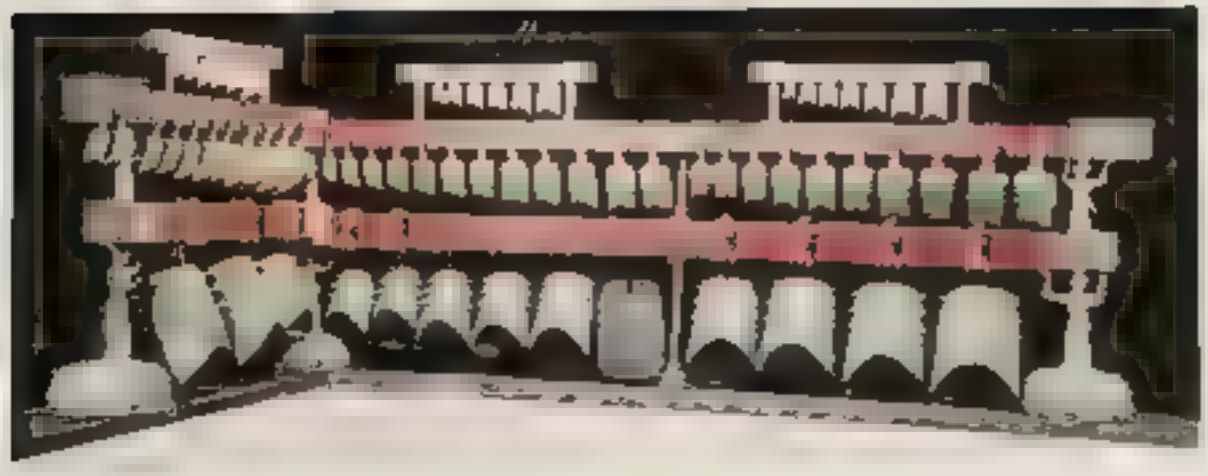
Hu wa is mounted on a rectangular foot and
surmounted by a quadrifocal neck. The neck is
bronze
shaped
[illegible]
The decoration

[illegible] and [illegible]. Most scholars now [illegible]
[illegible] discussed in the text. Zhou [illegible] and
[illegible] also [illegible] Women's [illegible]
The [illegible] section of the text [illegible] of [illegible]
[illegible] by [illegible] present. [illegible] Royal City [illegible] page 45)
[illegible] Yu [illegible] ceremonial and [illegible]

[illegible] buried to the late Zhou period as well. [illegible]
[illegible] of this text are preserved among [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] see chapter 4, [illegible]

[illegible] disciples of Confucius, surveys a wide range of
[illegible] events and rituals. It is a compilation of the
Han period from disparate sources.

[illegible] of modern social science [illegible]
most representations cultivate and legitimates social
and political structures. According to Li, only ranking male members of the elite could preside at the



[illegible] presenting the different courses and small dishes for preparing condiments to accompany the meat. Fruits and fish. These equivalents of dishes serve are not well known for the Western Zhou period owing to the lack of high tombs. [illegible] Western Zhou officials, but for the Eastern Zhou many more high-class officials are documented. Many of them were ministers, lesser lords of lesser fiefs with larger numbers of dependants, and mercenary [illegible] and stable officials.

The Western Zhou tomb of Marquis Yi of Jin (433 BCE) and the earlier tomb at Xiasi (mid-9th century) both had large chimes of bells (no. 3 in 22). Both chimes required several musicians to strike the large number of bells, sixty-five and seventy-six respectively. The Shaohou bells were suspended from a three-tier frame with a short arm meeting the main frame at a right angle at one end. The chime stand was in place and in use at the time of deposition. The Yuqi chime was found on its frame, although metal cables used to suspend the bells were found attached to their stems. Each chime consisted of several small sets of bells. Artisans tuned every bell in turn in the process of casting so that it produced a specific note in the musical scale. Moreover, because of their cramped, [illegible] cross-sections, these bells actually produced two distinct musical notes depending on where they were struck. These two notes generally vary by a major or minor third. As in the pictorial scene seen in figure 3.24 below, the chimes of xylophones complemented the bronze bell chimes and must have been hung on stands with racks for suspension. These chimes were only part of an Eastern Zhou orchestra. The Sanxingdui tomb was also outfitted with a variety of string instruments (ancestors of the zither or zither-like instruments), [illegible] and musical [illegible] and [illegible] drums. It may be that many of the women put to death at the tomb of Duke Ping of Marquis Yi were musicians who performed for the pleasure of the dead.

Funerary Ritual

Ritual care of spirits of the dead was a major and [illegible] preoccupation and a significant aspect of the economy during the Eastern Zhou. In addition to the ritual canons [illegible] during this period, other thinkers, Xunzi, Mozi, Zhuangzi, and others, discussed these issues and a few, like Mozi, quickly noted the waste involved in giving so much wealth to the dead. In spite of such criticism, the rituals and actions of the period invested considerable assets in their proper conduct, or even its burial, which were permanently lost to the living.

The most basic requirement for the care of the dead was construction of an appropriate tomb. The tomb, in turn, was a reflection of the status of the deceased. The largest Zhou tombs, and those associated with the capitals of Zhou at Hanjian (Luoyi) and the capital of Chu near modern Jiangling (Jingzhou), in the Jin capital at Tengxiang, Shandong, was some 8 square miles (21 sq km) in area, with 18 clusters of tombs defined by ditches and bank mounds. To these, remains of royal tombs and palaces must be added, thousands of other elite burials in cemeteries near every major urban center. Most of the objects discussed in this chapter derive from burials.

Burial chambers were by this time elaborate underground structures. Some were designed to approximate the above-ground residences, entered in the chambers were installed in bedrock

[illegible] type of chamber and stacking, they imperfectly [illegible] water. A few chambers were seen to have been entirely [illegible] the [illegible] with or without a convenient ramp. The chamber at Sanchuan was 60 feet wide by 55 feet long (21 by 17 m) [illegible] largest [illegible] of the Shang royal cemetery near Anyang. Its roof was large enough to accommodate the massive bed frame seen in figure 3.22 above and many other ritual vessels with space to spare. The [illegible] was set on the roof with both the [illegible] coffin of the marquis and those of eight women and a dog. There were more coffins of musicians and musical instruments. In the west chamber was a [illegible] armory with 4,500 weapons was installed in the smaller [illegible] chamber. But in chambers this large and this well preserved were by no means the norm. Instead, for most

matter. In the Eastern Zhou period

seem to be in play, and representational art becomes [illegible] common. Most of the earlier [illegible] preserved [illegible] increases, now including p[illegible] such as the [illegible] that are rare from earlier periods.

The earliest pictorial designs appear during the sixth and fifth centuries—the late Spring and Autumn and early Warring States periods. [illegible] material emanates from tombs [illegible]

with many examples in the center itself. The evidence at hand does not support the reconstruction [illegible]

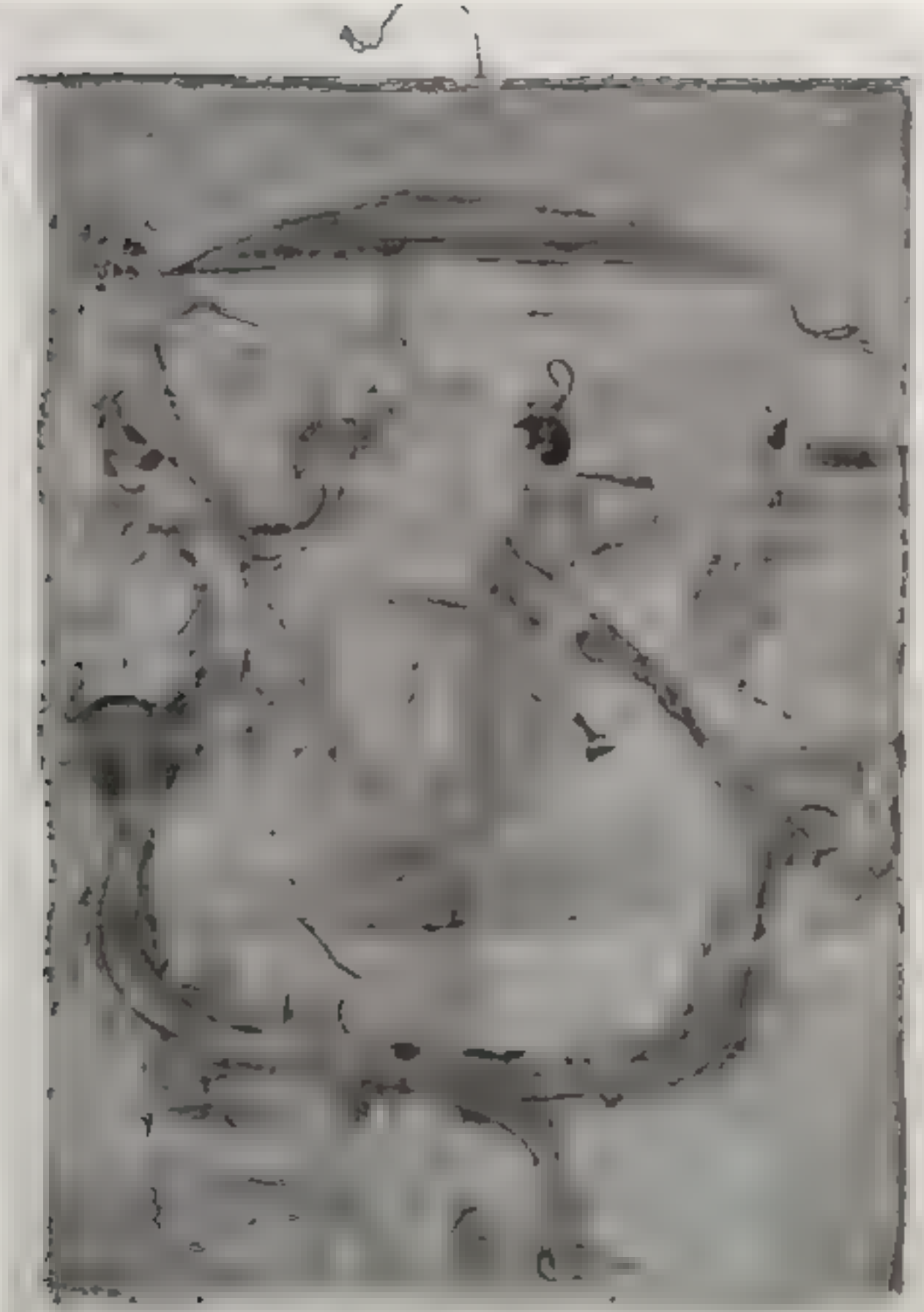
[illegible] hum-walled copper vessels, usually water hours, jars, and ewers, in [illegible] engraved lines on [illegible]

[illegible] copper was [illegible] and into cast or [illegible] [illegible] inside an already [illegible] other [illegible] setting. All vessels have been employed in the palace for the daily [illegible] eating and drinking [illegible] table. As such they were luxury goods and hence suitable for [illegible] but not deemed appropriate in solemn ritual. There was no inherent difference between a ritual bronze ware box and a metal ewer as a vehicle to carry representational designs. Pictorial subject matter embraces many aspects of elite life, including several of the six arts. [illegible] shows [illegible] pastimes of a gentleman [illegible] and water hunting on foot and with chariots, fowling with arrows on [illegible] hunting, and the [illegible]

[illegible] vessels such as this coarse vessel [illegible]

[illegible] with two stories and [illegible] [illegible] 124 [illegible] Within the [illegible] of the lower level [illegible] musicians [illegible] the [illegible] are suspended [illegible] A [illegible] several standing [illegible] above. An [illegible] [illegible] stand [illegible]

[illegible] represent a guest [illegible] [illegible] with the archery [illegible] warriors depicted on other [illegible] vessels [illegible] food and wine is suggested [illegible] and guests [illegible] standing within a pavilion [illegible] style of [illegible] and other scenes is remarkably consistent. Figures are depicted as simple [illegible] in profile. Usually two or three types of figures are [illegible]—warriors, musicians, hunters [illegible] example—each type with own standard poses and attributes. Figures are generally confined to one scale, but exceptions exist side by side. Rarely is any single figure differentiated by scale, attributes, pose, or placement. Figures act and interact by their gestures and groupings: several face several others, a group of warriors in file move toward their opponents. Symmetry is often present but need not be exact. Figures share a common base line, and sometimes one is supplied; they may also be stacked in superimposed



gesters within a single field. Little setting is included, but much can be suggested by a few lines—a hill or a pond edge—or by a building or declivity. In spite of their miniaturization, there is no reason to suppose that larger surfaces would have been any different. Some lost wall paintings probably looked much the same.

While designs on upper and lower vessels are best known as lacquer wares and were also important media for religious and social art, the tombs at Sui-chou and Kuei-shan (Changsha, Hunan) and Xiang Hunan's contained lacquered objects with examples of figural scenes in the style described above. Two paintings, one with the surface from this period, both from Changsha, Hunan, a southern or northern Chu state. The example that accompanies Fig. 4.23 is a rectangular, lacquered silk about 15 by 11 inches (38 by 28 cm), sewn to a stave at its top. A male figure in a long robe stands at the center in profile, facing the left. His robe is drawn in line only, with some attention to a small waist, arms held close to his sides, and hands at his waist. Under his feet is a large dragon also facing left, with its body in a U-shape and a canopy above. The dragon's body was dark red with its tassels, as was the canopy. Presumably dragon and canopy together are a kind of vehicle, and the man is standing in it. His hair is arranged in two tufts, unique to the canopy, and the man's chin strap are shown blown to the right by a strong breeze. A second painting on silk, 9 by 10 inches (24 by 26 cm), was recovered from another Chu grave near Changsha. These small silk paintings most probably were part of the funeral gear, placed in procession before the hearse of the deceased to the grave. Thus they anticipate the more important early paintings on silk, the banners from Mawangdui, east of Changsha, dated to the Western Han (see Fig. 4.24).

A WIDER VIEW: PEOPLES OF THE NORTH AND SOUTHWEST

The powerful states that dominated the central plains during the Warring States period shared much of a common culture. The royal Zhou dynasty and its immediate neighbors—Han, Wei, and Zhao—occupied the center. Big states flanking them were by no means provincial. Qi to the east and Qin to the west were advanced societies whose economies were no less developed than the central. Important thinkers in the state of Qi formed a distinct school among those who tried to reconcile them as basically similar in important orientations and practices, though developments in Zhou, Qi, and Qin might vary between regions—music, food, or sacrificial—but literary scholars and visual artists were reasonably at home in these different states. The term Hua-Xia was used to designate these states and their [illegible]

With the great northern and southern states, however, the situation was more complex. Yan and Zhao gave way to the nomadic Hu. Wu and Yue, in the south, were apart. In the eyes of the Zhou people, these were not nations between heaven and earth, but rather [illegible] Hua-Xia culture. As we shall see, this distinction was an artificial process of identification by which Zhou adopted Hua-Xia customs as its own, consolidated [illegible] which were held in high regard. For example, the idea that a human [illegible] was a kind of [illegible] of the population of a non-Zhou state, such as the Rong, [illegible] customs, also differed and such [illegible] as the Songs of the Southern Chu [illegible] mythology and to [illegible] that may have no counterpart among the Hua-Xia [illegible]

A variety of names were applied to what people who lived at the margins of the Warring States across the world, or north, the most common ethnonyms were Rong [illegible] and Di. The state of Zhao which adopted nine hundred years, the clothing necessary barbarian clothing. He [illegible] It may be that the spies [illegible] ders [illegible] that [illegible] characteristic the Rong and Di. The founders of the state of [illegible] were themselves Bai Di, who like the [illegible] of Chu seem to have consciously adopted the trappings of Hua-Xia culture. The people of Chu encountered local tribal peoples whom they lumped into the general category of man, southern barbarians. Such peoples were different: clothing worshipped different gods, and produced different arts and crafts from the Hua-Xia. They were

is 30 inches (76 cm) in length. The maker created a flat surface by cutting away the back of the tiger [illegible] and created room for the smaller animals placed at right angles by removing the belly of the same [illegible]. In spite of these practical arrangements [illegible] rendered. This high [illegible] contrasts with the more [illegible] of northern steppe peoples.

Both [illegible] and the [illegible] southwestern [illegible] developed among peoples [illegible] from the [illegible] Xia peoples of the central states [illegible] both because their [illegible] because their interactions with the [illegible]. The expansion of the [illegible] Xia peoples [illegible] Chinese [illegible] had an impact on all of the [illegible] peoples [illegible] advantages [illegible] Han [illegible] population [illegible] the People's Republic of China.

This chapter treats a shorter period than the [illegible] chapters above [illegible] each successive period the evidence increases [illegible]. The Eastern Zhou period is a fully historical one, with literary sources that [illegible] knowledge is [illegible] when compared to what is known from [illegible] the Shang and Western Zhou [illegible]. Moreover, the number of [illegible] wide range of [illegible] and [illegible] of [illegible] periods. The [illegible] different places spread over a [illegible] geographical terrain [illegible] much [illegible].

[illegible] The [illegible] Zhou founders [illegible] by a new [illegible]. This new society [illegible] rank [illegible] status and power [illegible] but the [illegible] ideas of status and [illegible] remained significant. The [illegible] of the more than [illegible] of early Eastern Zhou [illegible] was [illegible] for another [illegible]. [illegible] centuries, however [illegible] because the small states were disappearing, regional [illegible] grew [illegible] more integrated. A widespread [illegible] culture was in the making. This common culture was the [illegible] of the Chinese [illegible] that has survived into our own century. [illegible] chapter [illegible] the growth of that culture and [illegible] some of its interactions with neighboring peoples near and far.

THE FIRST EMPIRES: QIN AND HAN

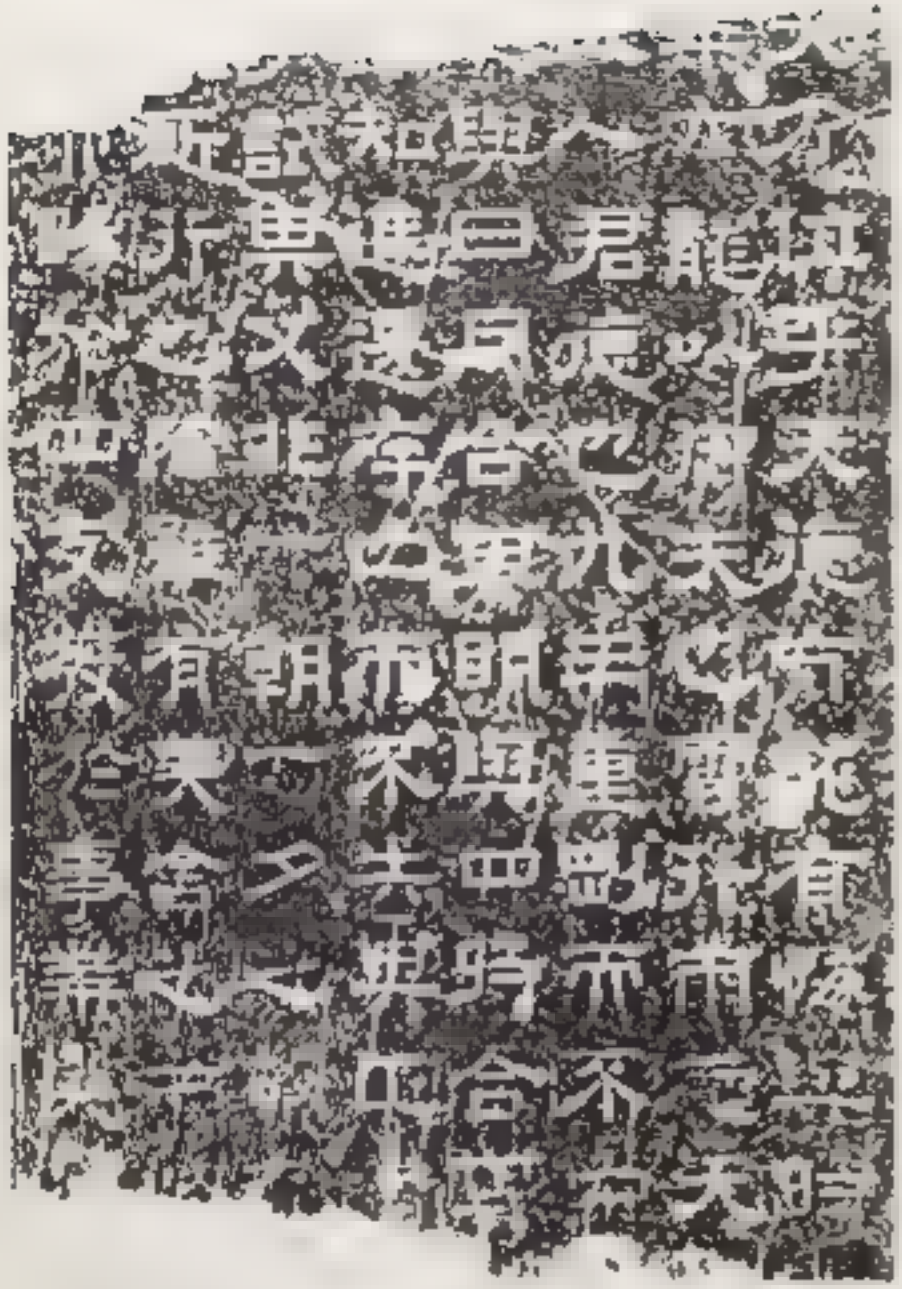
The [illegible] dynasties in 221 BCE marked a dramatic turning point in Chinese history. Even had the [illegible] been [illegible] it would have established a distinctive political regime. In [illegible] the unification of the state [illegible] remained potent. And even in periods of [illegible] political disorder the Qin and early Han [illegible] the goal of a unified state [illegible] the middle of states [illegible] and [illegible] What Qin accomplished took several decades of diplomacy and warfare against the other warring states of the late Zhou period. But war and [illegible] was only one part of Qin's strategies. Qin's rulers organized an pursuit of its own goals—political, economic, social, and moral—that became a model for all later dynastic [illegible] imperial regimes. The notion that the state, as manifest in the emperor, his court, and bureaucracy, could control and direct all aspects of society proved to be far more important for later Chinese history than the strategies of Qin generals. Qin's conquests cannot be underestimated, even if its rule did not endure.

The two Han regimes, by contrast, were long lived, and they successfully institutionalized and elaborated much of what Qin initiated. The Former or Western Han dynasty ruled from Liu Bang's victory over his rivals in 202 BCE until usurpation by a high court official, Wang Mang, in 9 CE. By most accounts this dynasty was a time of general prosperity [illegible] and of [illegible] southwest and northwest. The Later or Eastern Han [illegible] of Wang Mang was a restoration [illegible] Although the Liu family was again [illegible] the Eastern Han was [illegible] a distinctive branch. This period, from 25 to 220, a different from the earlier [illegible] was [illegible] more [illegible] Struggles within the court and capital among distinguished families and [illegible] political [illegible] provinces [illegible] Prosperity [illegible] did not mean greater wealth for the state [illegible] quarrel [illegible] drawn were often alienated. The peasantry [illegible] and [illegible] foreign cultures grew and Buddhism made its initial appearance within Chinese [illegible] On the whole the two Han dynasties were [illegible] stable; they were more [illegible] dynamic

THE IMPERIAL STATE AND SOCIETY

The achievements of the Qin dynasty were the subject of analysis and debate soon after its fall in 206 BCE. Han writers of [illegible] the First Emperor of Qin, Qin shi huangdi (on his term see page 136 below) and his ministers for the [illegible]

[illegible]

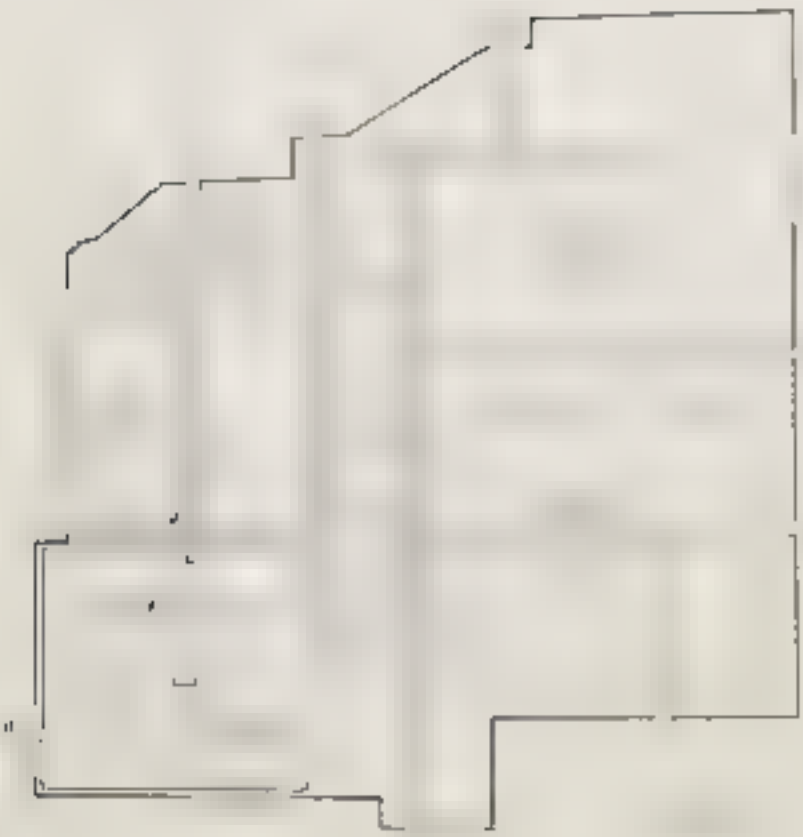


Ancient Chinese script

Stone drum of the Zhou Kingdom

Xi'an Region

4.5 Plan of Jian Chang Gong



[illegible] Emperor [illegible] and hundreds of detached palaces spread around the valley on the north side of the Wei River. Highways and [illegible] the capital of which [illegible] and roughly at north and south [illegible] of the [illegible].

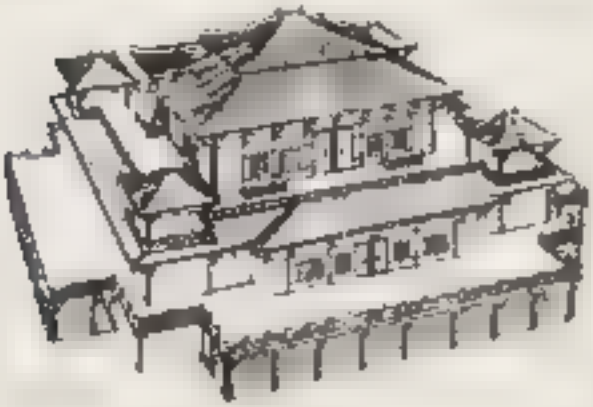
Jian Chang Gong is located immediately north-west of [illegible]. It was [illegible] in 4.5 and has [illegible] been [illegible]. After some [illegible] the [illegible] palaces [illegible] the [illegible] of the land [illegible] passes as the imperial capital. Planners sited the new city around the remains of a [illegible] the Qin palace, which was renamed the Palace of Everlasting Long Life. Jian Chang Gong, and became the residence of the Empress. It was flanked on the west by the Eternal Palace, Weiyang Gong, where the reigning emperor held court and [illegible] towards the end of the [illegible] converted [illegible] into great [illegible] the palaces. The position of the two main palaces and the irregular course [illegible] on the northwest determined the layout of these walls, each about 3.7 miles (6 km) in length. As a result the shape of the

city is highly irregular: a straight east wall, a south wall that jogs south to enclose the Eternal Palace at the west, a partly straight west wall only [illegible] miles (4.5 km) in length, and a stair-step north wall parallel to the river. The number of gates, three per wall, was more in keeping with the canonical prescription of [illegible] (see The [illegible], page 33). Each gate had three portals. The central one may have been reserved for imperial [illegible]. [illegible] were two [illegible] with four chariots [illegible]. The [illegible] was lower [illegible] north and higher to the south, where the palaces were located. Chang'an was practical [illegible] within the walls [illegible] other purposes. The [illegible] was located [illegible] west [illegible] palaces and west of the main north–south artery. Markets were situated [illegible] was also a center for [illegible] of many kinds. [illegible] sites were developed outside the walls. A major palace was [illegible] to the west of the city [illegible] Jianzhang [illegible] was [illegible] lake [illegible]. The [illegible] was also constructed [illegible] south of the city. [illegible] was the [illegible] of imperial [illegible]. The population of Chang'an was between 250,000 and [illegible].

Following the capital of Later Han was built in [illegible] Luoyang, [illegible] about [illegible] miles (15 km) east of the modern city of the same name in Henan. A rectangular city, its [illegible] from the Luo River to the south to the Mang Mountains to the north. In area the city was only about a third the size of Chang'an. As in Chang'an, palaces occupied a high percentage of the area within the walls. The north and south palaces were not aligned on the same axis, and many other irregularities are evident in the walls, gates, and road grid. As at Chang'an, the practical decisions made by the builders considerably muted the power of the royal city prescriptive model. Markets were located outside the city walls. Extensive residential wards adjoined the city on both east and west. A ritual precinct was created south of the city in an area that has since been reclaimed by the Luo River. This was the location of another Bright Hall, the [illegible], the Spiritual Terrace, and the Academy mentioned above.

Although several important architectural sites of the Han capitals have been excavated, [illegible] for its primary [illegible]. The [illegible] palaces [illegible] north [illegible] rather than the [illegible] of the pre-[illegible] of [illegible] these [illegible] was [illegible] for the [illegible] granary [illegible] north and [illegible] the Eternal Palace at Chang'an. Its pounded-earth platforms extend about 1,150 feet (350 m) north–south and about [illegible] feet (200 m) wide. The [illegible] steps [illegible] terrace on the south to a high [illegible] at the north. The [illegible] main hall [illegible] the terraces ascending from south to north [illegible] of the city where [illegible] terraces, and [illegible] remains of pounded-earth buildings at several of the [illegible] of the Weiyang [illegible]. More [illegible] were [illegible] and [illegible] wall footings made from pounded earth. These data were [illegible] from several compounds excavated within the Eternal Palace at Chang'an and at a huge granary located east of the capital at [illegible]. [illegible] deep wall footings, piers, and low foundation blocks suggest [illegible] that did not depend on an earthen core. Many aspects of the [illegible], walls and doors, paving, and the like can be deduced from the remains found at these sites.

The restorations proposed for the Bright Hall (Mingtang) at Chang'an [illegible] tell us much about the evidence available but rather less about the realities of imperial architecture. This observation is not meant to disparage the contributions of architectural historians who have synthesized the data. More obviously than in many statements made by scholars, however, their restorations are examples of a chain of assumptions and inferences. Their suggestions are logical, but logic does not guarantee historical accuracy, and in many cases alternative logic is equally



Hope Sustains

work were not given much status. They might

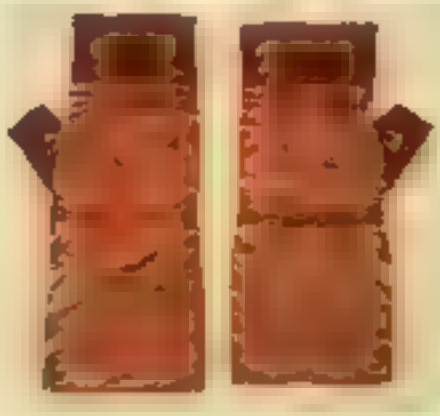
4.11 [illegible] Dongjiaqian [illegible] Nanjingling

of standardizing and bureaucratic amendments that functional were enough without such accessories. Produced in two-part molds, tiles are generally strong since only by the treatment of their joints, which could be modified while [illegible] was soft.

A number of brick chamber tombs with fine wall paintings attributed to Later Han grandees have been excavated, especially around Luoyang and in Hebei, such as Wangdu and Anping. These paintings depict the official staff of the deceased as at Wangdu or the chariot processions that were a perquisite of his rank, as at Anping. The latter tomb even contains a portrait of the deceased in the rear chamber (see fig. 4.22 below). But a tomb at Helingol (in Chinese: Helingeer) in Inner Mongolia, while less impressive for the quality of its painting, is notable for its subject matter.

Fig. 4.11: The paintings on the ceilings of the front chamber chronicle the official career of the deceased. This biography begins on the west ceiling with a single chariot and the cartouche raised as blank and uncorrupted official seal. This marks the man's nomination as a candidate for office position. At the time the minimum age was forty, and only one candidate from each commandery could be nominated in each three-year period. The middle of the vault includes a chariot with the inscription *pei* [illegible], probably an abbreviation for [illegible] the Pei, a post at court to which he was paid 300 bushels. This was the most common annual amount, which would [illegible] a minimum of three years as an [illegible] of the imperial bodyguard. Another group of horses at the [illegible] of the panel includes the inscription [illegible] Chief of Hedong, a region west of the Yellow River in modern-day Shaanxi. This post, which [illegible] was [illegible] of the [illegible] governor. A third panel [illegible] the south middle chamber shows the heritage [illegible] the [illegible] in contrast to the chariots [illegible] moving in all directions seen in the west ceiling, the south vault shows a single horse with empty chariots moving straight [illegible] and [illegible] by [illegible]. The cartouche reads: "Acting chief [illegible] standard of Shang commandery, Henan State." This was a temporary position with an annual salary that paid 2,000 bushels. Here [illegible] weapons of mounted archers and several horses represent the commandant's entourage. The east vault, by contrast, bears the inscription "Magistrate of Fanyang," a county-level position in northeastern Hebei. After a series of former military posts, the official was placed in charge of civil administration of a peaceful interior locality. The salary for this post was 800–1,000 bushels of grain, and his perquisites were also reduced.

The climax of this man's career was his appointment as "Colonel-Protector of the Wuhuan," carrying a staff of authority. This was once again a frontier post dealing with a non-Han people. An extensive chariot and cavalry entourage is painted on the north ceiling vault, a prominent position immediately visible upon entering the tomb.



[illegible] the estate, which, unless were located in good [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

levels of production only during the Industrial Revolution. Salt which, unlike the other wares, was made by private producers licensed by the government. Revenues from these workshop systems went to the emperor, not the [illegible] workshops included [illegible] prestigious [illegible] workshops in Nanjing [illegible] Ming Shilu [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

> [illegible]
>
> [illegible]
>
> Wang [illegible]

This kind of inscription gives a [illegible] from the date and place of manufacture to the object's quality. Each amount involved in its production is listed by surname. Other numbered objects suggest that these families served in such roles for generations. Petty officials supervising the workshop are also specified. These inscriptions provide the first significant collection of specific names linked to the production of arts and crafts, nothing similar is available for production prior to the early imperial era. Although we customarily think of these crafts as anonymous, in its own time this cup was designated as the product of the skilled labor of a particular shop and [illegible]

[illegible] Although he was posted to the kingdom of Ba, his home in Hanzhong, his hometown, was the seat of the state of Liu. The grave goods, [illegible] especially the extensive [illegible] lacquer wares, suggest the real wealth at the disposal of a local potentate.

Ingenious in the Han period, [illegible] lacquer wares represent a continuation of the regional traditions that had [illegible] through Sanxingdui, Chu, Ba, Dian, Ancient Shu, and Sichuan. See Mawangdui Lacquer Wares, page 98. Many lacquer wares from the Mawangdui tombs bear stamps identifying them as products of state factories in Sichuan. Local production must have continued as well, however, and the heavily lacquered coffins of the Mawangdui tombs were probably made locally. See fig. 4.16 for detail. Lacquer ware was extremely costly and labor intensive. One of the protagonists in the Salt and [illegible]

[illegible] Although the [illegible] lacquer workshop was closed and [illegible] for a [illegible] period.

Lacquer Wares, Metalwork, and Jade

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] anecdotes [illegible] plate and a practical [illegible] a combination of natural, desert plant and [illegible] human [illegible] a carefully described [illegible] and a surface for decorative design.

By Han times jade had many associations with many traditions of use and ritual. Jade objects such as garment hooks, seals and cups were [illegible] among personal accessories and adornment. Jades played an important role in burial [illegible] naming in the jade shrouds of the Han imperial princes and princesses [illegible] 4.23 below. Imperial rituals also employed jades as tokens to be [illegible] palated in such ceremonial [illegible] the Bright Hall. From the time of Emperor Wu [illegible] 86 BC onward the Han [illegible] sometimes occupied and controlled portions of the Tarim Basin along the Kunlun and Tianshan ranges where boulders of nephrite were found. Most Han jade carvings are true nephrite, [illegible] presumed to be from Xinjiang.

Many of the finest pieces are selected from the Mancheng tombs and the tomb of the King of Nanyue. Both are second century BC [illegible] material and workmanship present a coherent [illegible] associated with the late Zhou [illegible] the disk [illegible] 4.11 above) have a traditional prototype of the jade [illegible] Zhou dynasty. Several [illegible] from Mancheng (see 4.1) and Guangzhou must have emanated from the same workshop working at the same time. The Mancheng disk shows beneath a pair of [illegible] dragons or [illegible] of the same species as the two rampant animals on the perimeter of the example now in Kansas City. In the Mancheng disk, however, they are held in check by length-[illegible] bodies that establish a central axis by which [illegible] their heads [illegible] the diameter of the disk. It is enlivened by many cut-away passages and incised lines. By contrast with the Kansas City disk, in this disk is a single field of raised curls in regular rows without a twisted animal holding a smaller inner ring in place. The color of the stone, the shaping of such details as animal jaws and the treatment of the field of plastic curls all suggest that these works share a common origin. Further examples from the Nanyue tomb can be cited. Some Former Han jades could also [illegible] be [illegible]. One can also imagine that an imperial jade workshop employing some of the same jade [illegible] Zhou forms of a [illegible] was still in production in the second century BC. Jades found in the Mancheng tombs certainly [illegible] both [illegible] workshops of other [illegible] dynasties. Those found in the tomb of the King of Nanyue could well derive from the same workshops [illegible] were given to the Han court. Ritual texts [illegible] specialized [illegible] Heaven conceived as [illegible] Warring States and Han cosmology. Among [illegible] disks asserted an imperial association [illegible] was in [illegible] imperial [illegible].

Jade [illegible] found at the tomb of the King of Nanyue [illegible] perhaps the [illegible] of jades in the Former Han period. An indeterminate [illegible] was built by a [illegible] at the fall of [illegible] strong to resist [illegible] the imperial [illegible] and [illegible] consort and [illegible]. Thousands of [illegible] found in this unlooted tomb may have been produced in imperial Han workshops. The [illegible] could be a [illegible] the second Nanyue king, who died c. 122 BC. The [illegible] only some 7 inches [illegible] 2.25 inches [illegible] The horn-shaped body ends in a [illegible] incised lines [illegible] and [illegible] on the body. This is not a [illegible] but rather an elaboration of a horn. Easily grasped, the cup cannot hold liquid without a support. We should imagine it had a metal or nephrite stand.

IMPERIAL IDEOLOGY AND WORLD VIEW

For a discussion of Qin–Han ideology and world view, typical literary and visual statements are paired with other. Nonetheless, it is important to

remen but the scope of various belief systems, the temporal, regional, and social limits of these generalities should not be assumed to have been unchallenged or to apply to all social groups, even if many were granted official status by the imperial institution.

The Emperor

At the center of the world and at the [illegible] of human society stood the emperor, through a [illegible] one. In adopting [illegible] the [illegible] Emperor [illegible] combined the [illegible] of three August Ones and Five Sovereigns [illegible] who reigned in antiquity [illegible] imperial [illegible] of [illegible] Qin [illegible]. [illegible] however, [illegible] also encapsulated several ancient strands of thought. The ideal of the Son of Heaven [illegible] from the Zhou brought with it the notion of a charge or mandate bestowed by this [illegible] power on a [illegible] the First Emperor [illegible] some inscriptions [illegible] was convinced that his right to rule came both [illegible] he possessed more than [illegible] human [illegible] Heaven. [illegible] times, however, the role of Heaven's mandate [illegible] the emperor's position became integral to the structure and functioning of the natural world [illegible] played a key role in the maintenance of both natural processes and human welfare. [illegible] of weak Han emperors [illegible] Former Han and in Later Han, the institution was firmly established.

The physical shape and structure of the world as described by Han period writers was interpreted according to several competing theories. Whatever the overall metaphor—a [illegible] Heaven or a yolk in an egg—Heaven was round and Earth square. The human realm was a land mass surrounded by water, and it in turn had both central and fringe zones. The Han empire occu[illegible] no competing civilization coexisted with it. The margins were known imperfectly as the territories of bizarre peoples and strange creatures. Those nearest naturally tended to gravitate toward the center to submit to the Son of Heaven. The world was [illegible] understood as constituted of three fundamental components: Heaven, humankind, and Earth. Heaven presided over the [illegible] natural world just as the emperor ruled human society. Among [illegible] Heaven belonged [illegible] the emperor who owed his position to Heaven's mandate and who [illegible] of society. These concepts—a [illegible] hierarchy, round and square, and [illegible]—were [illegible] in the [illegible] design of the Mingtang, for which [illegible] be equated to [illegible] Heaven, humankind, and [illegible]. As a square [illegible] surrounded by a round water [illegible] the [illegible] shape of the world with its center and four directions. [illegible] with the four [illegible] directions and center, which [illegible]. The walls of the four outer [illegible] were in fact painted with colors associated with each direction: east green, south red, west w[illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] that [illegible] the [illegible] of divine creatures of [illegible] [illegible] and north black [illegible]. The phase of the center was [illegible] established for this direction. [illegible] suggest that the emperor came to each ritual chamber in the season for offerings to the powers, [illegible] suitable color and music and bearing [illegible]. [illegible] Mancheng [illegible] the shape of Heaven may represent such a [illegible].

The imperial court employed a considerable bureaucracy to monitor the workings of the world. They did so on the theory that both natural phenomena (stars, eclipses, the winds, and others) and unnatural ones (omens and portents such as prodigies and disasters) relayed Heaven's evaluation of the ruling emperor. The Spiritual Terrace at Luoyang was the headquarters of court astronomers and astrologers. Their detailed observations catalogued eclipses, constellations, comets

The Tomb of the First Emperor

Although the future First Emperor became king of Qin in 246 BC, he was then a minor and only achieved effective power in 238. Work on his tomb could have begun soon after the death, but most have begun shortly after his accession and continued through several phases until [illegible] of his chancellors, Lü Buwei and Li Si. The emperor started a site on the eastern edge of the capital in order to beat the tombs of his grandfather and father. The first active phase of construction probably began after the unification in 221. At that period a massive force of military soldiers and convict laborers worked for the Palace and the Lishan site. The so-called underground army was most probably created during this phase. The final stage of work commenced after the emperor's death in 210 but must have been cut short by the rapidly deteriorating military situation. This monument has never been lost; its existence has always been known within China. Placed on the main route approaching Chang'an (Xi'an) from the east, generations of scholars have remarked on the site and a considerable lore has developed about it. Contemporary attention dates from the extraordinary discoveries in 1974–1975 of three large trenches some 1918 feet ([illegible] m) east of the tomb containing the life-size terra-cotta warriors.

The plan of the First Emperor's complex was inspired by the major traditions of burial in China in the late 2nd century BC. It was to become a model for later and subsequent emperors. The site was a walled rectangle, sheltered by mountains in the south and enclosed by the Wei River to the north. The burial is a single earth pyramid of enormous scale (1,[illegible] feet [illegible] m) that could see the First Emperor's spirit questing to the day and on his journey. Unlike the tombs of Zhongshan, which were buried within a common precinct (see p. 370), the First Emperor was isolated in death, much as he had been in life. The precinct is a long rectangle nearly [illegible] 2 miles north–south by 0.6 miles wide (2 km by 1 km), with a smaller rectangular inner wall. It was oriented to face east and west, with gates for access from either direction. The pounded-earth mound dominated the southern half of the inner walled area. The mound is also in the form of a truncated pyramid, with sides that slope up at about 30° to a flat top measuring about 262 by 3[illegible] feet (80 by 160 m). The height has been much debated, but some [illegible] increase it to about 236 feet (70 m). [illegible] However, [illegible] walls were more probably members of a series of supporting structures, [illegible] and roofs, [illegible].

The underground components of the tomb are buried in several levels but only a few levels have been determined so far through excavation and survey. The main chamber seems to have had a rectangular shape (1,500 by [illegible] feet (46 by 396 m), with unfired brick walls about 13 feet (4 m) high and thick. It was reached to a depth of more than 90 feet (30 m) below ground level. Several ramps lead into this chamber area, and there are five doors on the east, which may therefore be considered the proper approach. Details of the structure and plan are unknown, but a mausoleum chamber of large timbers and stone construction is certainly possible. Textual accounts mention a sky map painted on the ceiling and a topographical map modelled on the floor with rivers of flowing mercury representing the waters of the earth. A geophysical survey in the 1980s determined that there were in fact unusually high concentrations of mercury under the mound.

[illegible] The terra-cotta assemblage at Lishan was intended to accompany the First Emperor wherever he went. In the main pit, the most recent excavation, the weapons, from bronze and the several stone [illegible] options, commemorating his expeditions, were [illegible] 4,2[illegible] [illegible] 4,[illegible] 173 probably best represent the work and accomplishments of a king in the Chinese imperial service. Placed end to end in a pit near the west edge of the mound, they occupied merely one portion of a trench with several other asymmetrical compartments. The chariots, scaled at less than half the size, were originally painted in bright colors like the terra-cotta army. Chariot

+ At Noli ngai ures

Hun Imperial Tombs

Mausoleum

4. Fu Xi and Nu Wa

[illegible]

[illegible] both assume three-quarter poses with simple robes over their upper torsos and serpentine bodies that curl upward. The drawing is [illegible] and resilient, but wider strokes and touches of color augment the careful detail of facial features. Red is used on the robes, red for [illegible] and purple for Nu Wa. Both in the [illegible] and several others at Luoyang, the two figures

are physically separated and linked by sun and moon respectively.

Figures from human history also occupied a prominent place in Han pictorial art. Legends embody fundamental notions about the workings of the natural world. In didactic stories, moral messages about the workings of human society are illustrated. Models and others from Heaven, shamans, and mythical people, women of heavy warriors, chaste women, filial sons, and wicked rulers are all. Tales are generally resolved into their most basic characters and people. Jing Ke's attempted assassination of the First Emperor requires the more than the two protagonists, a knife, and the column in which the misguided weapon lodged. [illegible] who plays for his aged parents. Later figures and some low-relief scenes. In the case of the painted basket from Lelang, since third or fourth in the 3rd c. BCE, canonical [illegible] stereotyped seated figures were adequate. We know from textual accounts that many of these tales were painted on the walls of Han palaces and some have been found in painted tombs as well.

Formal portraits were also a part of Han palace decoration. The Han emperors memorialized worthy figures for their achievements, and the same impulse figures in funerary art as well. A clear case is the Later Han tomb at Anping, Hebei, dated by inscription to 178 CE. This is a large and elaborately well built, with, but has been attributed exclusively to a wealthy eunuch, one Zhao Zhong. The central chamber features a procession of eighty-two [illegible] the vehicle of a great man. A side chamber displays a large portrait [illegible] 4.22 m [illegible] of an elderly man seated on a low couch within an canopy and screen. There is a stone bowl rendering the painted cap symmetrical. Face and right pose are [illegible]. The hand holds a fan while the other gesturing. A white and black collar and cuffs complement the bright red robe. The drawing here is sprightly and [illegible] the painter expressed considerable energy on moustaches and moustache. These details suffice to transform a generic seated figure type into a specific individual. His smaller seated attendants stand only as tall as the seated master. Other Later Han murals match this work in conception, such as the one at nearby Wangdou, Hebei [illegible] official staff and the tombs at M County, Henan, in the display of a lavish life style. This type of portraiture presages the work of such noted painters as Gu Kaizhi [illegible] and Yan Liben [illegible] chapters 5 and 6.

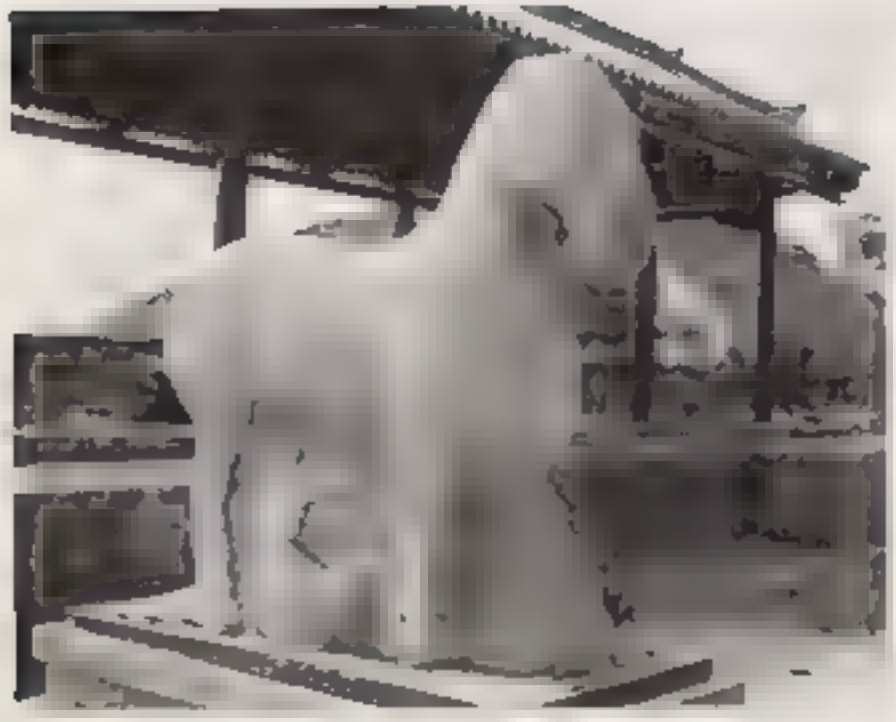
The Souls and the After Life

Death became an occasion for elaborate ritual, important sacrificial rites, for honour and respect due to ancestors, the dances, incantations, on behalf of the complaints of lineage and [illegible] obligations. Tombs were objects of intense concern, although there are no [illegible] essays in Han literature that explain in detail their features and significance. Instead, texts describe the ritualized behavior of family and community at death rites, especially mourning. The rationalization of the Eastern Zhou thinker Xunzi were manifested in Han times by a large-scale commitment to such rituals. While some poets, discussions and social critics castigated society for the costs and superstitions associated with these burial practices, there was never any significant diminution in the social economic and ideological investment made in tombs and their furnishings.

Death was viewed by many writers as the separation of women's spirits, those some attributes both the physical body and the mental and [illegible]. An earth's soul [illegible] or near the corpse at death and was commonly believed to be associated [illegible] sustenance offerings to the dead through burial rites. An ethereal soul or heavenly soul, then was the [illegible] derived the body at death, according to contemporary [illegible] but its fate was obscure. An intended grave might [illegible] the [illegible] soul after an evil, marauding spirit or ghost, [illegible] caused harm. Several competing schemes direct being the fate of the other souls, and with both [illegible] and material evidence. For some, there was the [illegible] of the Eastern Isles in the ocean, inhabited by spirits or immortals [illegible] who enjoyed a bliss in eternity. Both the First Emperor of Qin and Emperor Wu of Han sent expeditions by sea in search of these isles. For others, especially in the south, the wandering soul was [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] These were the [illegible]



[illegible] and
[illegible]

[illegible] stand. Two other kneeling horses are rather more animated, caught in postures known in real life. They too do not differ in surface detail or the [illegible] scale, material, and workmanship [illegible]. The capital [illegible] the Shanglin Park [illegible] historians have [illegible] the three [illegible] scenes [illegible] represented [illegible] stone [illegible] But [illegible] shows [illegible] of [illegible] scale and [illegible] may have been produced [illegible].

The interaction with the [illegible] peoples of the south and [illegible] military operations [illegible] these [illegible] included tribute [illegible] images [illegible]. The main southern [illegible] states included the independent kingdom of Nan [illegible] Guangdong [illegible] which is discussed above in connection with jade working. The kingdom of Dian in Yunnan, on the other hand, gained the recognition of the Han court, as shown as a Han-style seal [illegible] from a Dian tomb at Shizhaishan, Jinning, Yunnan. Images of the south were widespread in Han [illegible] as an [illegible] bronze [illegible] found in a tomb in Ding County, Hebei, illustrates most vividly (FIG. 4.25). The four registers of this [illegible] shown [illegible] view, are a [illegible] of much Han [illegible] diamond-shaped [illegible] which the pictorial content must work around [illegible] each register. The pictorial content is organized above and below looping bands of gold [illegible] spiral upward [illegible] evoke [illegible]. Amid [illegible] and birds [illegible] in the [illegible] and the leaves of trees. The [illegible] world [illegible] horses, deer, [illegible] a dragon and [illegible] an elephant and a camel each [illegible]. The [illegible] themselves would seem to be [illegible] the south. The [illegible] on horseback [illegible] a leaping [illegible] wears the headgear of a Han

This is a [illegible] composition of absorbing [illegible] court poets [illegible] has never been properly [illegible] set the standards [illegible].

The [illegible] of the Qin and Han imperial states will be felt throughout the remainder of this volume. The imperial state and [illegible] became China. For the following two [illegible] the [illegible] order was [illegible]. The emperor on the throne was as firmly established as the sun and moon in the sky. The demands of an authoritarian state apparatus were as natural as the patriarchal order of the family. The regional diversity of natural products, industries, customs, and arts were nonetheless seen as components of the empire, a whole greater than its parts. The institutions of the imperial state defined [illegible]. Even the most [illegible] barbarians [illegible]. Han civilization attracted neighboring regions of East Asia [illegible]. Elements of Han culture were planted on the Korean peninsula, in Manchuria, across the Mongolian steppe, along the Gansu corridor, in the southwestern plateaus, and in the [illegible] reaches of [illegible]. Just as Han [illegible] the local [illegible] assimilated aspects of Han social organization, material culture, thought, and art. The early states that arose in these regions had a [illegible] history of both borrowing and resisting Han culture. The arrival of Han civilization was a significant catalyst [illegible] in the cultural histories of all East Asia.

AGE OF THE *DHARMA*
THE PERIOD OF DIVISION

During [illegible] years between the end of the Han dynasty, China was [illegible] and [illegible] changed in many ways. This age of political turmoil saw repeated attempts to establish a comprehensive political and social order, and later writers have used many phrases to describe it. Historical sources place the dividing line following the Han, which ended formally in 220 [illegible] as the "Three Kingdoms" or "Three States" period. Separate regimes—the states of Wei, Wu, and Shu—controlled [illegible] Sichuan. Rivals for power, they [illegible] generals and military heroes and rulers such as Zhuge Liang and Cao Cao. The Jin dynasty (265–316) restored order and held together until the loss of both capitals (Luoyang in [illegible] and Chang'an in the fourth century). Moving across the Yangzi River, the Jin set up regimes and made Jiankang (now Nanjing) the capital in the area of modern-day Nanjing, Jiangsu. Regimes based here became known, after the [illegible] as the "[illegible] Dynasties." These states are called Wu (of the Three Kingdoms period), the transplanted Eastern Jin, and the Song, Qi, Liang, and Chen dynasties. (The latter four are also termed the "Southern Dynasties.") The loss of the north in 316 can be regarded as a political event. Transplanted elite lineages established new homes in the Lower Yangzi, [illegible] region. The spread of an ethnic Han population into new terrain along the Lower, Middle, and Upper Yangzi led to the economic development of territories that had been on the fringe during the Han period. Wei, [illegible] the north, became overtaken by [illegible] and [illegible] century, [illegible] an important role [illegible]

[illegible] the north after the [illegible] established regimes contested the old Han capitals at Chang'an and Luoyang. [illegible] were [illegible] for the Han borders. [illegible] and regarded them as barbarians. The [illegible] spoke [illegible] languages and [illegible] origins. [illegible] Han society, [illegible] the Xiongnu of Han times, the Tuoba Tabgach, a Xianbei people [illegible] later Mongols, and the Qiang, ancestral to later Tibetans, controlled a succession of five barbarian states and sixteen kingdoms. The Tabgach, Northern Wei, regime, as it is [illegible] in about 440 and created a long-lasting [illegible] regime. With its capital at Yungcheng near modern Datong, Shanxi, this state mounted campaigns against its [illegible] barbarian neighbors to the north and established relations with powerful states in West and Central Asia. The Wei moved its capital to Luoyang around 494, but within a few decades fell apart. Two parts of successor regimes—Eastern Wei, Northern Qi, and Western Wei, Northern Zhou—emerged, both built on Northern Wei political and social foundations.

3. Sakyamuni Buddha
[illegible]

and perpetuated a cross-pull east-west dynamic of the north and south. In [illegible] a Northern Zhou general usurped a new ruler on the throne and the subjugation work in the Jin [illegible] and united both north and south, ending more than [illegible] years of fragmentation and chaos.

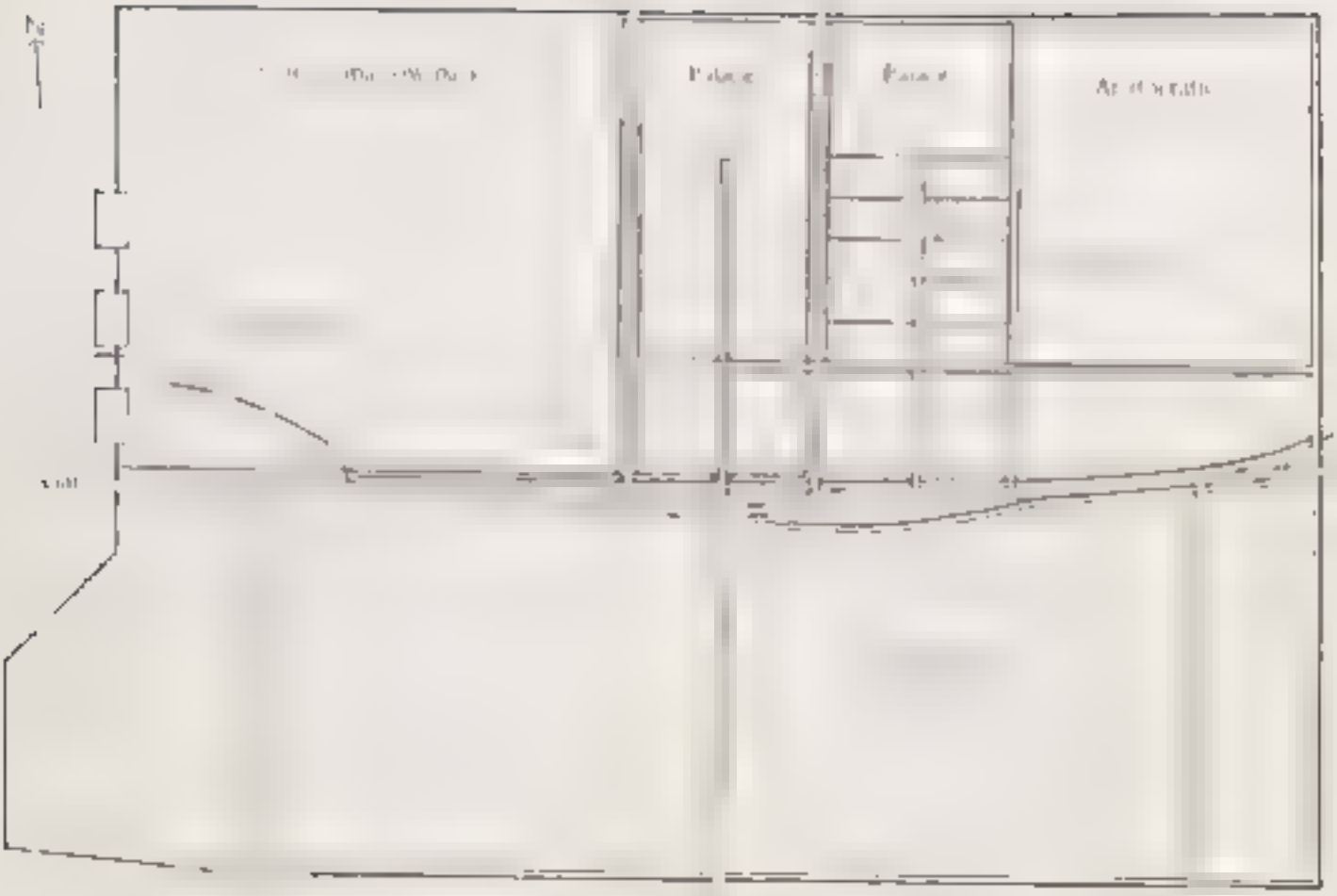
[illegible] one of more complex developments can be described as a tug of war between the [illegible] of a large and prosperous Buddhist community with its roots in Chinese society and the [illegible] of empire-building. The earliest traces of the dharma, Buddhist teachings, [illegible] Late in the Han period, after the Jin court retreated to the south, Buddhist believers grew in number, among the gentry, a social change [illegible] of Eastern Zhou [illegible] lasted at the Buddhist [illegible] centuries. The Buddhist communities matured steadily in the centuries following the court's shift to Nanjing. Important Buddhist figures such as Daoan and Huiyuan spread doctrines and devotional practices, and imperial patronage of pagodas and temples became common. Buddhist believers also flourished in the Gansu corridor (a region then called Liang). As it expanded its control over the north, the Northern Wei state also became a major patron of the dharma. The northern states, moreover, were tied by land routes to the sacred heartland of the Buddha: portions of the Ganges valley in India and Nepal, and to Central Asian states, had promoted these teachings. As in the south, the [illegible] of the Buddhist communities notwithstanding, [illegible] also moved to a greater degree of signification and organization.

STATE AND SOCIETY

Between the mid-third century and the late sixth century, the area we call China proper [illegible] maintained two, three, or more competing political organizations. Most regimes styled themselves as imperial states ruled by a Son of Heaven. To these rulers, legitimacy [illegible] as an overall Mandate of Heaven. Since there could be no Sons of Heaven, rival claimants must be delegitimate. Rulers had a ready pretext for aggressive military campaigns to assimilate false states. For example, in 350, the Eastern Jin generalissimo Huan Wen marshalled forces and [illegible] the lost northern capital, [illegible] of the Eastern Jin, a [illegible] of [illegible] in northern reclamation. Both Luoyang and Chang'an. While these efforts had only short-term consequences, they reminded all the rulers of the [illegible] of state relations. The [illegible] claimed to be the proper successor of the [illegible]. However, [illegible] the state of Wei during the late [illegible] century made his claim with great seriousness, but his [illegible] in Wei was short-lived. The Jin rulers, based at Luoyang and later at Nanjing, maintained a similar view, even though the north was beyond their control for good after their defeat at the Fei River in 383. Although based in towns, other states characterized debates at court. Most advisers to these rulers came from a relatively homogeneous social group: activity families established during the Han. Some families moved to the south, while others served under non-Han rulers in the north. Both groups regarded the Han model as natural and sought to translate it under new masters. To [illegible] the mantle of the Han, a proper capital had to be created. The designers of Jiankang, Nanjing, the Southern Dynasties seat of Jingcheng, the first Northern Wei capital of Pingcheng, the second Northern Wei capital (494–534), and of the [illegible] Wei-Northern Qi capital in northern Hebei all made claims for the legitimacy of their regimes through their city plans, imperial palaces, [illegible] and other monuments.

Imperial Capitals: The North

Cities are established by a capital at a [illegible] central location. Luoyang [illegible] was the [illegible] in the third century. Although small by comparison with most other imperial cities, the new plan devised at this time [illegible] several long-lasting principles. But [illegible] successor [illegible] renamed the capital Luoyang, and it [illegible] became a major center again until the Eastern Wei (534–550) and Northern Qi (550–570)



9-2 Plan of Ye in the 3rd century CE

[illegible] gate was the [illegible] new walled [illegible] the south extension. The area of the city was [illegible] acre. A road [illegible] gate with a long dimension [illegible] east to west. In front the original north [illegible] would be [illegible] 9.2. According [illegible] the inspector the city walls faced the cardinal directions. A major road west [illegible] connecting the single east and west gates bisected the city. South of this thoroughfare residential wards [illegible] the area within the walls, while the imperial court [illegible] the zones to the north. The palace [illegible] aligned on the north-south axis was approached [illegible] the central south gate. To the east of the imperial axis stood a second inner court compound similar in size and shape to the great halls of state. This precinct consisted of a series of small yards in the south and a larger rear palace. Government ministries flanked the main approach at the south of this eastern palace complex. Thus the [illegible] necessary for the court were situated side by side in the north central [illegible] of the city. The western half of the northern zone became a great imperial park, the Bronze Sparrow Park, which was kept as a reserve and was [illegible] [illegible] pleasures and [illegible]. In west was [illegible] residences of the imperial family [illegible] [illegible] in a [illegible] [illegible]. The residences occupied the north-east corner of the city adjoining the inner court compound. The [illegible] of the imperial court shared its palace offices for court business and [illegible] for the imperial [illegible] figures prominently in the plan of Sui and Tang period Daxing Chang'an, see [illegible] 9.2 below.

This survey of Ye tells us an important chapter in the history of planned cities in China. The other great northern capital, Luoyang, reflected

Compound Complex - Elly Scaugh

The names qilin and feng have enhanced auspicious and apotropaic (evil-averting) roles for such creatures, who are descended from the winged, antlered mythical animals of Eastern Zhou and Han. Imperial tombs generally have a pair of male animals, one with a single horn (qilin), the other with a pair of horns (feng). A huge tomb from the South at Jiujiang (Xiang Prefecture, Wu Province, 4th c.) near Nanjing represents the qilin. It is lively in stance (it feet suggest that it is in mid-leap), its head turned back and its mouth open, as if roaring. The single, horned creature, whose the spirit path, is more stolid and less lively. Its mane opposite to mirror this posture. It is equipped with the wings of a bird, its body is about 6.20 m (20 ft) long. The animal's bulk underscores its weight carried by the massive limbs and a central axis. Surface patterns of wavy waves, wings, and feathers complement the thick, set proportions, lending poise and heavy carving. When one approaches the spirit path, these two animals appear first as large silhouetted forms. As one passes between them, they seem to turn their heads at the visitor. As princely tombs, the creatures look feline with their ample manes and long tongues, an echo of Han prototypes. Similar leonine creatures may also have enhanced the entrances to other imperial sites, such as the palaces. At the tombs of the Tang, see Xi'an, Shaanxi below, Song, Ming, and Qing emperors, stone are male and humans continue, but southern traditional imperial tombs [illegible].

The imperial and princely tombs also have posts or stone columns flanking the path. In each instance, a flared, [illegible] small statue or a tiger, lion, lamb, shaman, and wei-carving animals face to face. In several [illegible] the best preserved examples, a capital carved with lotus petals and a bellow-shaped [illegible] to be a lion-[illegible] Mounted below the capital, a bestial guardian bears the titles of the deceased, as with one Xiao Jing, a prince of the Liang, who died as Marquis of Wu-ping (d. 523). Fluted columns can be found as early as the Late Han period, and the use of impressive stone carvings and memorial inscriptions probably began with the Later Han imperial tombs, although no examples survive.

Tiger Tombs, The North

[illegible] in Dynastic politics and social [illegible] a foreign, semi-nomadic group. Based on a fluid, semi-nomadic social pattern and [illegible] Northern Wei dynasty, which society had evolved over a much larger [illegible] the Northern Wei, for example, the Tangqi [illegible] imperial state, brought many forces. Tabgatch elders governed Tangqi [illegible] according to the customs [illegible] the court in Pingcheng (Datong, Hebei). [illegible] the other hand, adopted the larger ethnic Han population. This stalled a Han style and bureaucracy supporting the Tabgatch court. Northern Wei society, which mostly Han, was thus divided into parallel social and political spheres.

The adoption of Han ch'ih-hsi usages by ruling minority populations has generally been characterized as sinicization, or sinification, the argument being that a cultural minority must inevitably be absorbed by a vastly larger majority population and their culture diluted in the process. When the Tabgatch Northern Wei court explicitly adopted Han surnames, court ritual, and dress, this has been regarded as a high degree of sinification. However, such developments affected only some numbers of Tabgatch, especially those who were resident at court. It can hardly have determined much of the way of life for Tabgatch people of lesser status, and it is not what we might equally think in terms of a partial Tabgatch revival. As Victor Mair has [illegible] Han elites who served Tabgatch overlords in practice adopted new Tabgatch customs and values as they served the Northern Wei court. The phrase Mongols pretending to be Turks with Nord [illegible] dynastics in fact contributed in many ways to what now rather unrealistically is considered the Chinese culture of the Sui and Tang.

Northern elite Tabgatch [illegible] that Han period counterparts in several respects. Men trained as horse riders and became competent in martial skills. Many tomb wall paintings and figurines of the month through sixth centuries

emphasize mounted figures who ride out to [illegible] or to do battle in large groups. Some riders even play musical instruments while in the saddle. [illegible] Few grave goods of the earlier Han period, of the more rigid and austere southern, more conservative equestrian elite. The social role of elite women [illegible] the norms of the Han period. The relative freedom of women outside the household provides one contrast. Women had [illegible] no hobbling, but ability to move about in society rather than [illegible] spent within the family compound. An elite woman's status in her own right could be signified by a higher and her range of activities on the spiritual plane in earlier periods. Several prominent elite women were queens and empresses to a succession of northern rulers during the sixth century, and the women of these surnames often wielded great authority at court after marriage. The first Sui emperor, Yang Jian, is depicted as the paragmatic hen-pecked husband of a fierce wife. His empress, of the powerful Xiandei Dugu family, closely monitored and often controlled the activities of her husband. Empresses and dowager empresses became the most influential patrons of Buddhist sites and monuments in the Northern Wei. Grand Dowager Empress [illegible] subsidized the greatest Buddhist monument of the age, the colossal pagoda of the Yongning Si [illegible] (516 [illegible]). Active roles in court, family and court life and public roles as patrons set the fashion for the Sui and Tang elites.

However, as with their women in subordinate roles are more common in the paintings and figurines that survive from tombs. Only possessed of high status women may be found in several portable scenes attributed to the period [illegible] 3-23 and 5-26). A fourth-century tomb at Dengxian in the [illegible] shows a small orchestra performing for the pleasure of the tomb occupant (5-5). Three of the kneeling musicians are women, as are the three dancers, one holding a figure at the right who wears trousers. One woman plays a string instrument, one of the earliest depictions of a zither (pipa) in pictorial art. The central dancer [illegible] two fans in her hands, striking poses to the melodies of her companions. Below the other figures, two female acrobats do handstands. The [illegible] of the tomb and not shown here) with his low couch, ample robes, fly whisk and pitch-box hat, follows conventions already in place at such later of Eastern Han rituals at Anping, [illegible] 4-22 above). Two women musicians attend [illegible] a [illegible] style [illegible] a [illegible] common states both Han and non-Han [illegible]. The tomb could be any Han elite [illegible] and owner of the gently [illegible] unfamiliar suggest [illegible] the mountains and farmers [illegible] in pictures [illegible] Han [illegible].

Large [illegible] of the Later Han elite [illegible] a [illegible] north and south. The basic model of paradigm governing elite burials [illegible] two principal [illegible] 1) the scale, plan and spatial [illegible] of burial chambers were [illegible] of social status [illegible] prescriptive [illegible] and [illegible] by the state [illegible] 2) underground chambers and the [illegible] decorative programs, including figurines, replicated the social world of the living. More than repositories of disposable wealth, imperial and elite tombs commemorated social identities. The [illegible] imperial tombs of the late third and early fourth centuries near Luoyang, for example, followed more frugal standards than those of the Han period, having only one large chamber. This reduced scale and simpler plan characterizes many burials of the southern Dynasties. On the other hand, one Northern Wei imperial tomb, the Yongguling (481–484) of the Grand Dowager Empress Wenming, is far [illegible] more ambitious in scale, plan [illegible] chambers, and [illegible] the [illegible] contemporaneous imperial tombs. In the south, [illegible] the tomb [illegible] of a high-ranking [illegible] Yuan Shuo (d. 484) [illegible] of the [illegible] Liu Song [illegible] Later Han [illegible] Dengfeng and Xingping [illegible] hanbeng. Unlike structure with vaulted ceilings required five thousand bricks made [illegible].

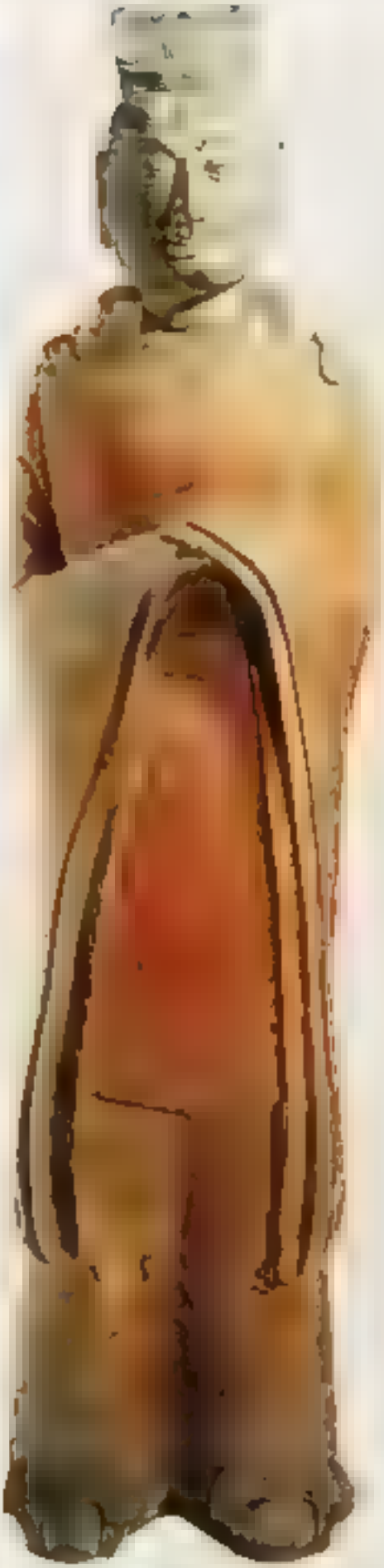
By the sixth century, [illegible] in the north were generally more extravagant than those [illegible] south. This consisted of a long, sloping ramp descending from ground level to the depth of the burial chamber. Air shafts punctured the ceiling, supplying light and air. With the use of fired bricks and vaulted ceilings with corbeled

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] illustrating [illegible]
[illegible]



THE *DHARMA* COMES TO THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

The teachings of the Buddha (*dharma*) were known in the Middle Kingdom during the Later Han. Devotees from the Western Regions had been coming to the Han realm for several generations and emigré communities were established during the first and second centuries C.E. This was largely a faith and philosophy of newcomers residing in the Han territory by all accounts marginal to the court and Han elite as a whole. The first Chinese translations of Buddhist holy texts (*sutras*) were made in Han times and still survive in the "Three Baskets" (*Tripitaka* in Sanskrit; *Dazangjing* in Chinese): the sermons of the Buddha's teachings, rules for monastic life, and learned commentaries. This Chinese canon, as it is conventionally called, came over the centuries to hold more than 2,000 titles in many thousands of volumes. Rendering a text into Chinese was far more challenging than the simple term "translation" suggests. Few people knew the Indic languages of the early texts, based in ancient Sanskrit, and the Central Asian languages of the monks who came to Han as well as Chinese. Therefore the process was one of approximating meanings in steps from one language to another. More fundamentally, concepts central to India's Buddhist thought for which no clear counterpart existed in Chinese were expressed by coopting existing terms. Thus *fa*—"law, way, method"—became the favored Chinese equivalent for the Sanskrit term *dharma*.

The historical narrative of the *dharma* in China has usually been constructed as a cycle divisible into stages. The earliest phase is generally considered a period of introduction, preparation—embryonic. Whatever the term, the status of the *dharma* at that time, judged from a Sinocentric vantage point, is that of a newly intrusive cultural phenomenon not yet widely disseminated in Chinese culture. This may fit some of the facts but it slights the highly evolved character and ancient history of this complex phenomenon we call Buddhism; a nineteenth-century European coinage. Buddhism itself was not in any way embryonic during the centuries prior to c. 300 C.E. The next several centuries, generally 300–600, are customarily regarded as a period of growth and domestication, or as formative. The total number of henceforth, the numbers of men and women who had taken vows, and the roles of the Buddhist community in Chinese society have grown enormously by the time of Sui unification in 589. Many characteristic features of the *dharma* in China grow over this period. As a world civilization, Buddhism was also growing and changing. Developments within China often paralleled those in India and sometimes were greatly affected by them. The narrative therefore is not self-contained but rather connected to the larger pan-Asian context.

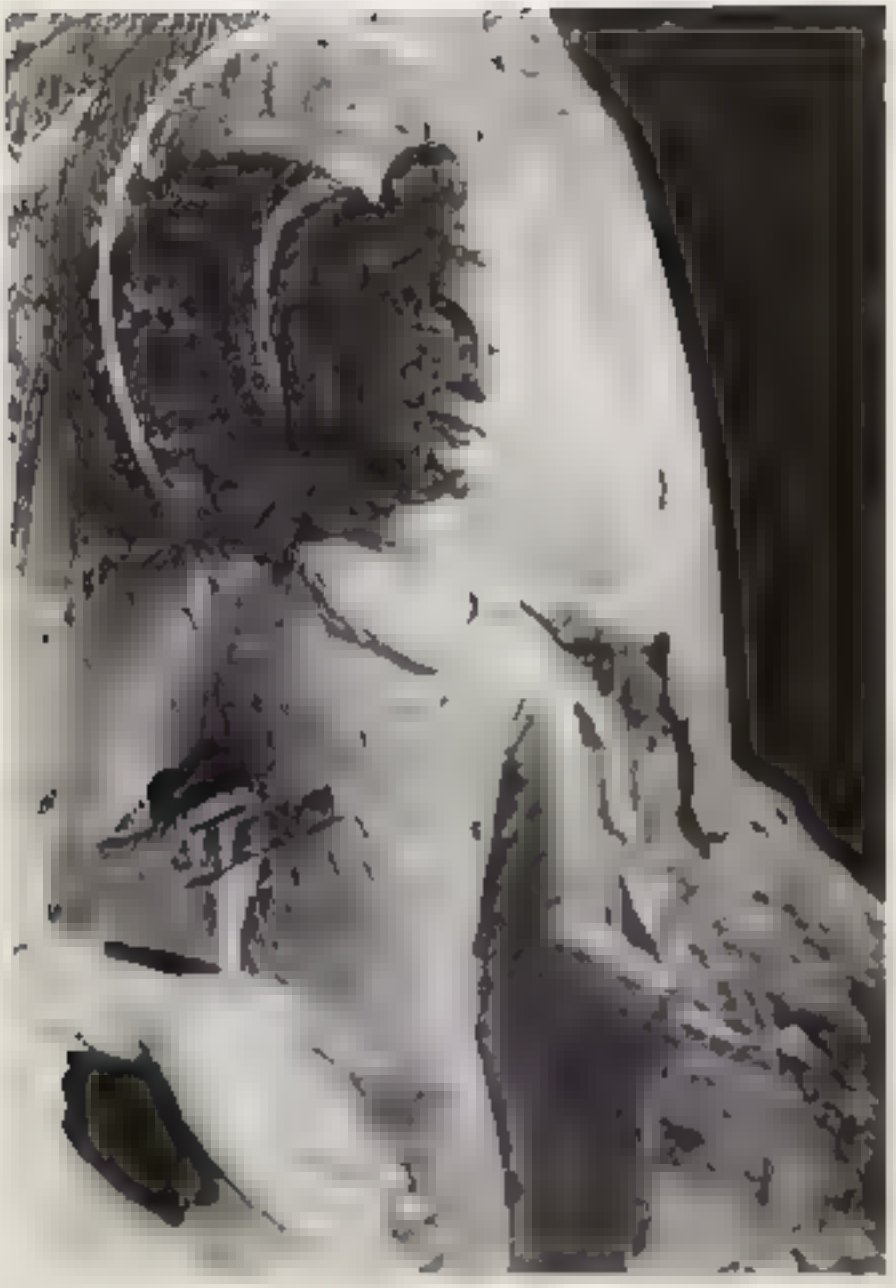
The models by which one explains the creation of a pervasive Buddhist culture within China also require elaboration. To speak loosely of influence or impact begs specific questions. We must imagine the ways events transpired in historical time, with living human actors in real social contexts. Transmission involved several distinct social groups and practical mechanisms. Early Buddhism was transmission by importation; the term is borrowed from Jan Nattier. A powerful patrons wished, for example, they could sponsor a learned monk from the Western Regions who would make translations or otherwise promote the *dharma*. Evangelical Buddhism, on the other hand, was transmission by export. Buddhist believers, whether tonsured or lay persons, brought teachings with them into a new society and then actively spread the words of the Buddha to expand the community. Many monks who came to North China from oasis societies on the routes to the west or from Kashmir, John Kieschnick's phrase, "Exotic Buddhism," finally designates the faith and practice of a community that moved into a new society and followed the Buddha's teachings as emigrants inside a larger society. The first Buddhist communities of the Han period were made up of such residents: foreigners. Each of these mechanisms can be documented in the Six Dynasties period, each leaves traces in the historical and material records.

Central Asian and Liang Buddhism

Although the overland routes that skirt the Taklamakan Desert are today part of the People's Republic, they are the [illegible] central Asian sites, and [illegible] seems [illegible] of the early population of these areas was Indo-European-speaking, and the [illegible] within [illegible]. The [illegible] today the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region [illegible] show that many non-Han peoples occupied these regions prior to the [illegible] the Qing [illegible] eighteenth century.

Two sites on the southern Silk Road represent the [illegible] presence that [illegible] had achieved during the first several centuries CE. Both locations were recorded by Sir Mark Aurel Stein during his expeditions for the British crown in the first decades of the twentieth century. At a site called Miran, Stein uncovered ruined stupas (the square mounds) and located fragments of clay sculpture and wall painting in the ambulatory passages encircling the base level. The paintings struck his eyes as distinctly Roman or Greco-Roman and recalled the art of northwestern India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan that is generally named Gandharan. Like other leading European scholars of his day, Stein was disposed to see these works this way. Trained as a classical archaeologist and linguist, he knew more than a little Greek and Latin and was well aware of Alexander the Great's forays into the Indus Valley and the later Greco-Bactrian kingdoms that flourished in that region. Thus Stein interpreted the Miran wall paintings with their [illegible] light and shadow and perspective effects as evidence of the eastward [illegible] of Greco-Roman style and culture. In the desert north of Khotan (Hetian, Xinjiang), Stein also uncovered a large monastery complex with a walled stupa court called Rawak ("high mansion"). Its walls were covered with large clay sculptures of Buddhas on wooden armatures [illegible] supports. Here the torsos were reminiscent of Indic sculptural styles associated with the North Indian center of Mathura, where the earliest dated Buddha images had been created. Pious monks and nuns at the beginning of the reign of the great Kushan emperor Kanishka (dates disputed; perhaps [illegible]) [illegible] many of these early Mathuran images. As at Mathura, the Buddha figures in the Rawak [illegible] their [illegible] cloak [illegible] The [illegible] are [illegible] The date is [illegible] by [illegible] Greco-Roman style at Miran [illegible] fourth century [illegible] based on coin deposits.

The Gansu corridor leading from the eastern edge of Xinjiang southeast toward the Wei River drainage was known in this period as Liangzhou. This was the region where Huo Qubing (see page 14[illegible]) enacted his military exploits against the Xiongnu in this region. During the fourth and fifth centuries the corridor was ruled by a succession of small Xiongnu and Tibetan states. By the early fifth century the Liang capital had become a center of Buddhist culture, notable for learned monks from the Western Regions. Perhaps the most influential was Kumarajiva (350–410), a native of Kucha on the northern route, who is [illegible] the [illegible] of many of the most widely read [illegible] medieval [illegible]. [illegible] of the Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma (Saddharmapundarika) became the most [illegible] version of that powerful text in East Asia. Kumarajiva and his cohorts also translated a variety of other texts that remained at the core of Buddhist devotion and philosophy in subsequent centuries. It was [illegible] several of these texts of [illegible] Mahayana Buddhism that as the words of the Buddha [illegible] and [illegible] revelation of his teachings, obviating earlier sutras and [illegible] the Buddhist ideal [illegible] in the form of the bodhisattva, a being whose nature is enlightenment and a path [illegible].

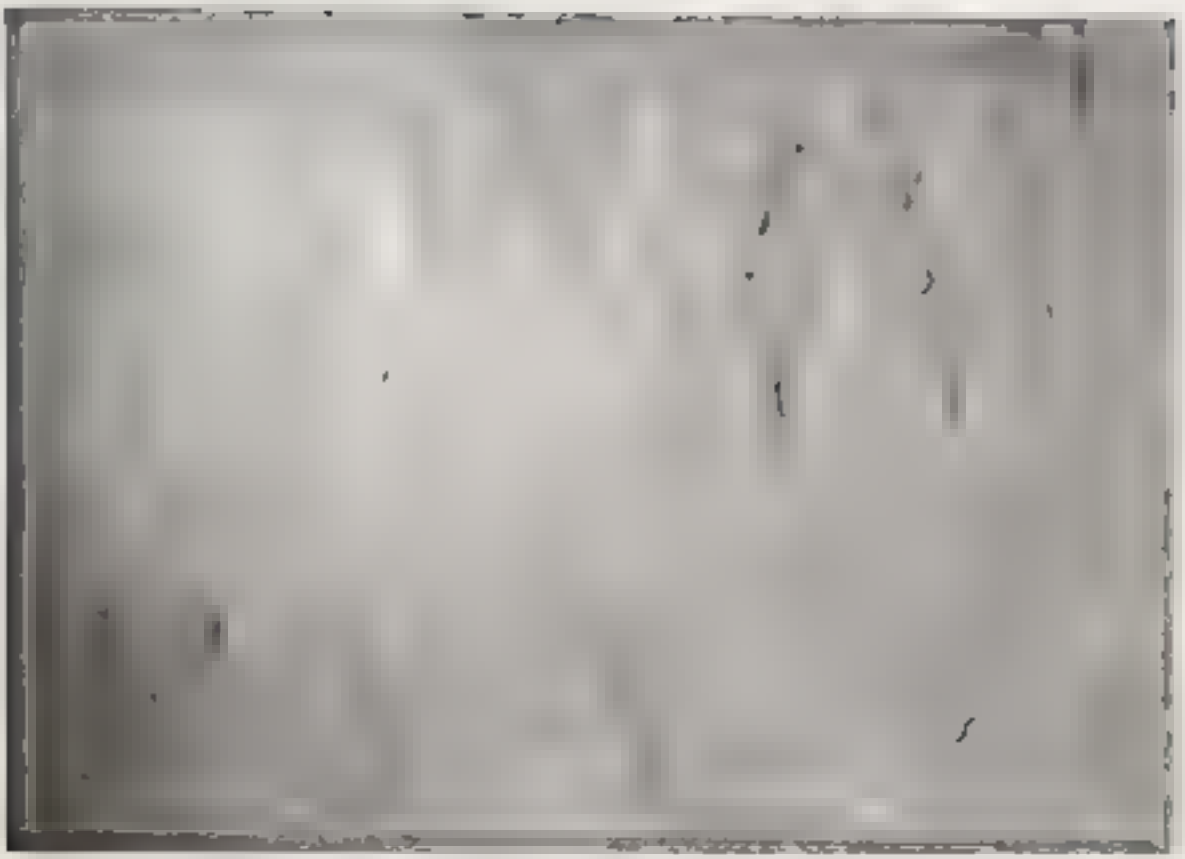


Schwarzberg Bunderka

[illegible]

[illegible] Buddhist [illegible] Pagoda [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

4.18 Head of Buddha



5.17 Empress as donor

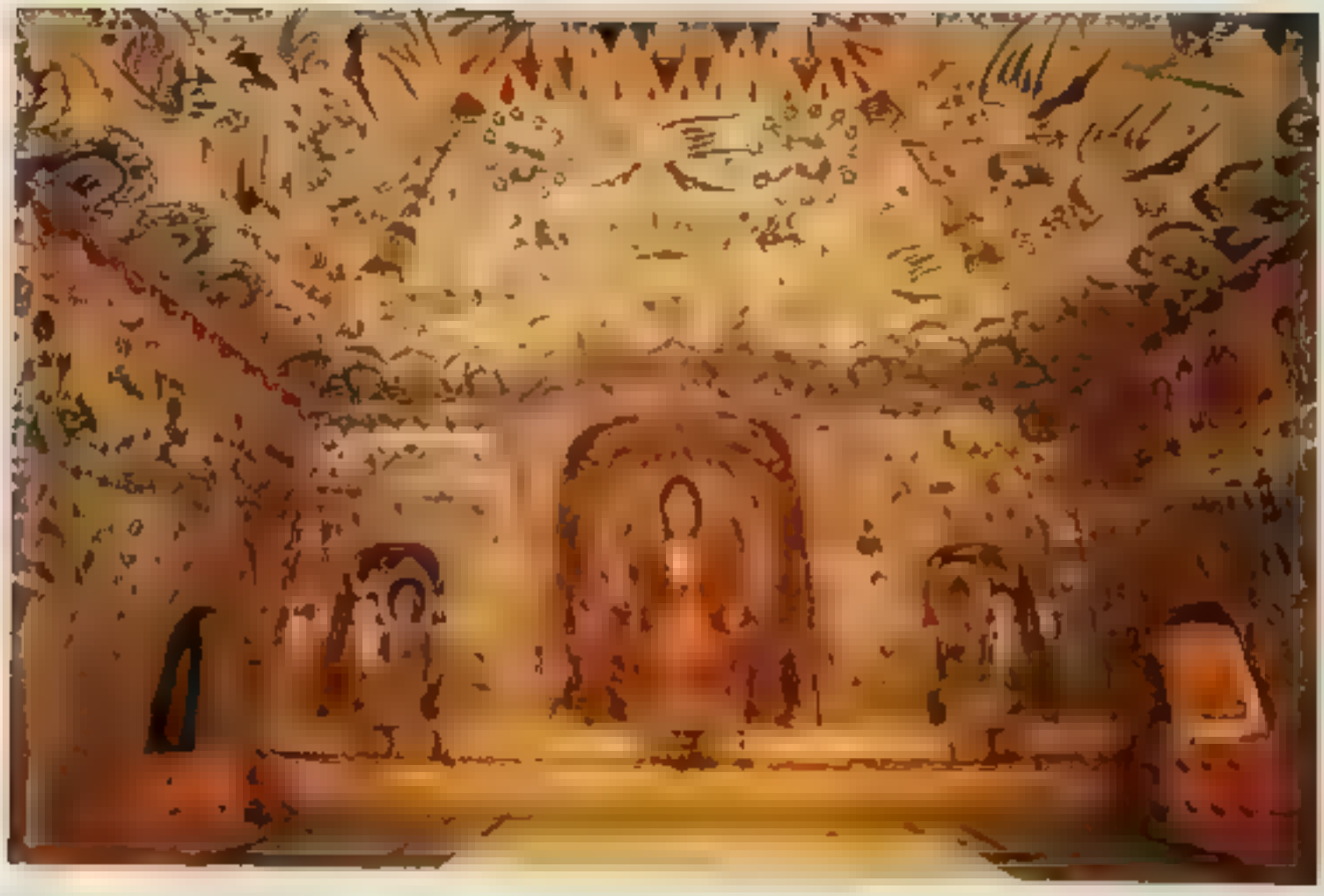
[illegible] the Son of Heaven as a spiritual [illegible] projects over the centuries. No [illegible] representations of an empress [illegible] survive prior to the Northern Wei period. The [illegible] series that [illegible] occupied the [illegible] the flowing cave shrine has [illegible] pieces but [illegible] in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, [illegible] depicting an empress (fig. 5.17) presenting a [illegible] to the Buddha. Yet [illegible] the visitor [illegible] and [illegible] flowers [illegible] elsewhere [illegible] in the Temple of [illegible] River and Yuan [illegible] between Empress [illegible] Buddha.

Dunhuang: Early Narratives

Early Buddhist cave chapels were designed and decorated with [illegible] attention to texts from the canon and the teachings and [illegible] and research the [illegible] sources at hand. Pictorial examples are present at many [illegible] Mogao chapels. Dunhuang, Gansu: Cave 285 dated by inscription to 538–39 and cave 428 [illegible] to be third quarter [illegible] century.

Cave 285 is a [illegible] with a large open [illegible] flanked on each side by the small [illegible] [illegible] plan are [illegible] [illegible] Buddhist [illegible] and [illegible] Medium [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] are [illegible] on the [illegible] ground [illegible] surrounding the [illegible] Most [illegible] point [illegible] with [illegible] [illegible] surfaces.

[illegible] of the [illegible] Buddhist [illegible] run in a horizontal [illegible] running from [illegible] along the south wall (fig. 5.19). This is an



§ 20 Hungry tigress
Mahasattva Jataka

Northern Qi Patrons

We have [illegible] the [illegible] of the Northern Qi [illegible] capital [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible]. The major cave-temples patronized under imperial direction have been appreciated for much longer in spite of the serious damage they suffered. The major sites are the Xiangtang Shan, Tai Hang Mountain [illegible] [illegible] complexes are part of [illegible] [illegible] by Hebei. These projects are [illegible] imperial patronage by the first two sovereigns of the Gao lineage, during the 550s–560s. The secondary capital, Jinyang, modern Taiyuan, Shanxi, was also an important cultural center as the [illegible] of [illegible]. Here the nearby cave-shrine site is Tianlong Shan (Heavenly Dragon Mountain). Both sites have the said distinction of having faces and [illegible] to such a degree that many heads, figures, and reliefs have been removed from the [illegible] and sandstone walls. Many collections outside China are replete with splendid examples.

Northern Qi patrons also commanded the energies of stone-carving workshops at Dingzhou (Ding County, Hebei), a region further north from Ye and to the east, in modern Shandong. A deposit of over 2,000 marble images was found in the ruins of an ancient temple in modern Qufang in the Dingzhou region during the 1930s. The more than six hundred dated images touch on a document many devotional trends, especially the rise of several key bodhisattvas. Maitreya, the Buddha of the Future, and Guanyin, Avalokiteshvara. More recently, ancient temple sites in modern Shandong have also yielded large numbers of stone images produced in local workshops active throughout the sixth century. A standing Buddha in Shandong's Qingzhou is a workshop of Qing, from Shandong, and has the virtue of still carrying its original polychromy, or colored pigments. The figure's case is completely carved on all sides. The posture is erect, static, and its facial features are composed and benign. Smooth surfaces and fine features harmonize the head, while the robe drapes the torso so closely that little of the underlying physique can be observed. The stone is covered by umber and white pigment and gold, depicting an elegant monk's robe. The restrained treatment of the robe contrasts with the animated linear details of Southern Wei products, and the sculptor gives greater attention to the volume of the body, both more suited for images of the [illegible].

LUXURY AND ELITE ARTS

Specialized craft production for the elite continued during this period of [illegible] [illegible] centers. The materials and range of products available were not uniform, however, because the map was divided between competing states. Some kinds of prestige [illegible] were in desperate and urgent demand, [illegible] [illegible] goods for both everyday and ceremonial purposes. Green wares, celadons, were produced in the Lower Middle and Upper Yangzi [illegible] regions as well as in the north in [illegible]. The number of production centers or other craft industries such as lacquer wares and silk textiles must have been more limited, since raw materials, lac and cocoons, were not equally available in all regions. Such products were certainly traded across political boundaries and figured in gift exchanges between states. Metal objects, including some of gold and silver, were also made in this period, but the number of metal vessels that survive is greatly reduced when compared to the earlier Spring [illegible] [illegible] shift away from the use of metal vessels for many purposes, perhaps in favor of [illegible] glazed ceramics and lacquer wares, based on technical evidence. The working of [illegible] seems to have been [illegible]. Now, [illegible] in the Western Regions may have been [illegible].

Stonewares and Glazes

As early as the Shang and Western Zhou periods, potters were experimenting with clays that could be fired at high temperatures (c. 1200°C) in a reducing atmosphere. These clays turned to gray or [illegible]. Most authors designate such bodies stoneware. High temperature fuses particles in the clay, rendering the bodies non-porous.

relatively rare and unless usually broken. These early stonewares moreover have a coating of glaze (see Fig. 2.12 above). This is applied with enough to form a glassy surface on the vessel after firing. While some glaze might have been accidental, the lesson of random ash deposits, for example, most vessels clearly were dipped or painted with a solution prior to firing. The glazes cover the surface but also collect in pools or drips. These glassy spots are sometimes excluded as a result of shrinkage during firing.

During the Southern Dynasties, major kiln centers in modern day Zhejiang, both north and east of Hangzhou, produced stonewares with [illegible] such as celadon, the [illegible] greenware [illegible]. The latter term derived from the name of a celebrated horse [illegible] who wore a jade green costume. The properties of these glazes are the result of their chemical recipes, which utilize feldspar as a fluxing agent and small amounts of iron for color. An iron content of [illegible] per cent can produce a dark brown glaze sometimes compared to burnt sugar. Deeper shades of [illegible] percentages yield the more typical gray green tonalities. Starting at least by the third century, these stoneware kilns utilized dragon kilns, a type of kiln with a large brick chamber on a pronounced slope which can accommodate hundreds of pieces in a single firing. The forms produced, many using a fast wheel, range in size from diminutive water droppers, through basins and pitchers, to larger crocks and urns. Human and animal figurines and models for burial were made by using a variety of hand-modeling and sculpting techniques.

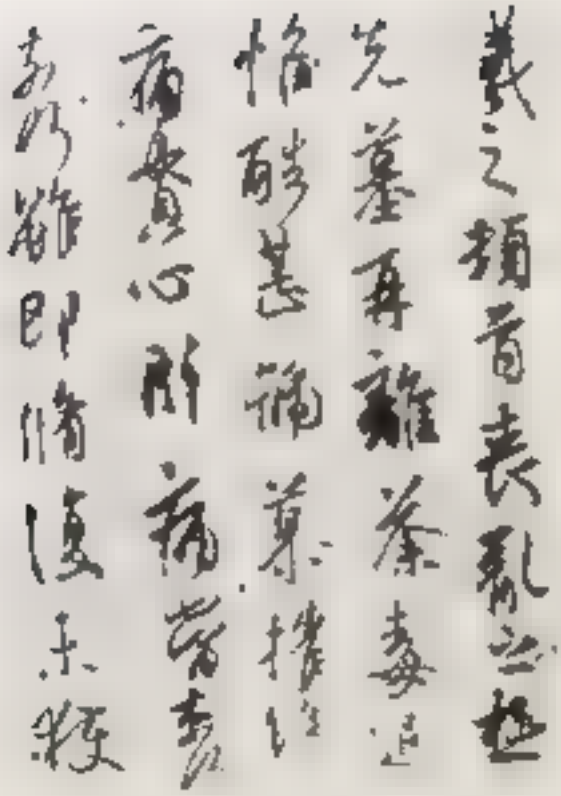
Ceramic production in the north paralleled that of the south. Many of the same utilitarian and mortuary types are found, including the ubiquitous pitchers with chicken head spouts. However, several key developments are associated with northern kilns and most probably originated there during the sixth century, if not before. Unlike in the Lower Yangzi region, kiln sites of this period are not well documented, except for Shandong. Potters working in the Northern Qi realm had access to a fine-particle clay that burned white upon firing. By firing at high temperatures and experimenting with glazes [illegible] potters created precursors of the white wares. Here we use the term "white" [illegible] because most pottery as white bodies, [illegible] to be a clear glaze. By convention, a white pottery [illegible] and covered with a white clear glaze, these ceramics are [illegible] wares and [illegible] the subsequent Sui and Tang periods (see pages 214–215). Although [illegible] temperature [illegible] changes [illegible] firing, however, [illegible] were [illegible]. A [illegible] of a Northern Qi [illegible] vessel (5.22) was made from white [illegible] brown [illegible] (5.21). Raised [illegible] encircled with a single [illegible] and carved square tags have been applied at the shoulder. The petals [illegible] lines, as is the band [illegible] below the shoulder. Green and brown colors are played off on the glaze. The overall brown was probably achieved by dipping the pot, while the vertical green splashes must have been applied with a brush or by dribbling the material onto the surface. Other vessels exhibit similar experiments with [illegible] applied [illegible] of contrasting colors. Such wares are precursors of the "three-colored" sancai mortuary vessels and figurines of the Tang.

The use of applique elements became a more complex silhouette and busier surface design can be charted during the sixth century. Several large vases from burials in Henan, one dated 565, and related pieces in other collections illustrate the [illegible] trend. Most wheel-thrown vessels have segmented bodies that [illegible] more commonly combined in metalwork. The example illustrated (Fig. 5.22) has both a tall flaring foot and a tall neck with everted rim. Large lugs are mounted at equally spaced points on the shoulder. The body proper is divided

5-22. Jar with four lugs. Tomb of Yan Fuxing, Henan, Northern Qi, 565. Stoneware with glaze. Height 24.5 cm. Henan Museum, Zhengzhou.

[illegible] ar script [illegible]

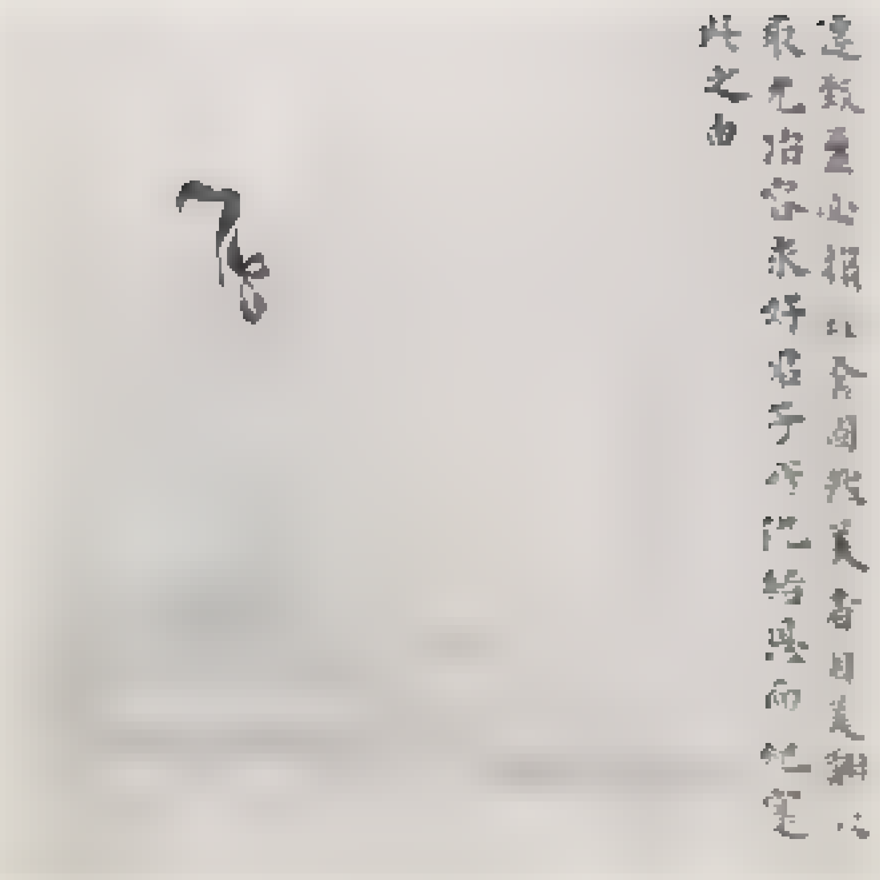
[illegible] while lost on the



[illegible] Wang Xi-zhi
Sangjiantie

[illegible] Wang Xi-zhi
[illegible] Dingwu
version

[illegible] Wang Xi-zhi
[illegible]



5-25 Attr. to Gu Kaizhi
Admonitions of the Court Instructress
Eastern Jin [illegible]
[illegible]
detail [illegible]
[illegible] The British [illegible]

[illegible] perspective, however, literary sources and portable works must be weighed against all extant evidence. Neither category can stand by itself for painting in this period. Judgments about either category must be informed by an understanding of the other.

Gu Kaizhi (ca. 344–405 or 345–406), a gentleman of the Eastern Jin period, is one of the great names in the early history of Chinese painting. His biography is included in the official *Jin History*, compiled in the seventh century. Many of the anecdotes associated with [illegible]

[illegible] drawing [illegible] in the [illegible] New [illegible] of [illegible]. The Chinese [illegible] as [illegible] portraits of notables of [illegible]

[illegible] and [illegible]. By Tang times [illegible] [illegible] catalogue of the Northern Song [illegible] the *Admonitions* of [illegible] (now in the British Museum, London) was [illegible] the Song [illegible] would be a late [illegible]

[illegible] scroll [illegible] like [illegible]

Zhang Hua (232–300) [illegible] the scroll [illegible] must not be abused, and love must not be exclusive [illegible] with longer historical episodes in which ladies of the past acted virtuously. One passage describes an episode in which Lady Ban of Former Han times refuses an [illegible] imperial favor.

> The Lady Ban [illegible] despite her desire to accompany [illegible] the Emperor [illegible] How could [illegible] with proper [illegible]
>
> [illegible] pp. 10[illegible]

The [illegible] When [illegible]

5-26 Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove [illegible]
Eastern Jin [illegible] late 4th century [illegible]
Overall length [illegible] cm
[illegible] Nanjing [illegible] Museum

[illegible]

[illegible]

4.27 Lady Ban [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Emperor Cheng

[illegible] The [illegible] attributed [illegible]

[illegible] The other [illegible] [illegible] east of Nanjing where the [illegible] imperial tombs are situated, preserve the same design. These walls are less well [illegible] and indeed mislabel some figures. The technique required stamping the narrow edges [illegible] a master mold so that when they were assembled in proper order a larger composition took shape. The making of the master molds presumes drawing a full-scale cartoon that was transferred to the molds. The cartoon in turn may [illegible] from an original design, whether [illegible] from one of the famous painters of the period. Whatever its ultimate origin, the Seven Worthies best epitomizes the figural art of the early Southern Dynasties.

In the Nanjing Bridge tomb the wall [illegible] given over to this subject is about 32 inches (80 cm) high and almost 8 feet (2.4 m) long. Several [illegible] bricks were [illegible] the composition. Each frieze begins and ends with ginkgo [illegible] the regions and [illegible] punctuate the design, separating [illegible] on the south wall [illegible]. The figures are named [illegible] in the [illegible] spaces and some [illegible] may be [illegible] however [illegible] the [illegible] look right to the [illegible] which [illegible] at the right end is frontal. The designer gave great attention to varying the details of posture and action among these gentlemen: one plays a lute, another whistles, one raises a wine cup, another wields a back scratcher. All are seated upon mats on the ground, either in cross-legged postures similar to a Buddha image or in more casual attitudes with a leg raised or stretched out. Although facial details also differ, the physiognomies are more alike than different. Six of the men are shown in three-quarters position, with [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] the state and [illegible] The [illegible] [illegible] Dan [illegible] tombs, moreover, the [illegible] are placed [illegible] other subjects including [illegible]

[illegible] was long ago established in Han [illegible] and here must also respond to the rise of [illegible] Daoism.

Cao Zhi (192–232), a prince of the imperial Wei house, established a reputation as a poet. One of his best known works, *Nymph of the Luo River*, [illegible] narrates an encounter with a [illegible] spirit in the year 223. The preface describes the prince's departure from the capital and his vision of the nymph. Four extant handscrolls

[illegible]

[illegible]

5-28 Nymph of the Lost Rivers

[illegible]

A NEW IMPERIAL STATE: SUI AND TANG

Modern historians [illegible] the Sui and Tang periods as a grand [illegible] in Chinese society and culture. The sequence of a short-lived Sui regime (581–618) which accomplished the reassertion of Chinese unification, and a long-lasting Tang empire (618–907) which consolidated and expanded the institutions of state and society, is often compared to the Qin–Han period many centuries before. Sui and Tang consider the middle dynasties to represent Chinese power, prestige, and cultural supremacy after the disintegration of the period of division. The triumphal narrative of Sui–Tang history devotes considerable attention to the impact of Tang institutions and culture on neighboring peoples in East Asia and to the contribution of culture to the great empire itself. Tang as the center of the East Asian world is a common metaphor. For many intellectuals, the Tang's institutions and culture, its government, its legal system, its literature, its poetry, its art, its music, its religion, its science, its medicine, its technology, its commerce, its cuisine, its fashions, its customs, its language, its [illegible] and its [illegible] [illegible] the peak of Sui–Tang was [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible].

A [illegible] of the assertions sketched above are true to some degree. From a [illegible] point of view, the Sui–Tang age is a glorious episode in the long history of Chinese civilization. But the Tang state was only sometimes successful in expanding its borders and in projecting its power. The reign of Taizong (r. 626–649), which claims nearly universal admiration, was followed by the very different reigns of his successors Gaozong (r. 649–683) and the [illegible] Empress Wu (r. 690–705). The [illegible] not at [illegible] under Empress Wu and the great disruptions of the middle eighth century, including the separation of Lushan (r. [illegible]) and concluded the reign of Xuanzong (r. 713–756), are the antitheses of a glorious age, as are the sad spectacle of the late Tang reigns when court and aristocratic power to rival military rulers. Claims of high cultural achievement notwithstanding, the Tang was also an age of great turmoil and widespread suffering, of wrenching changes in social institutions, and the growth of an aristocratic class that had dominated society during the previous period of division. Much celebration is [illegible] about Sui and Tang glories, over how few points are [illegible] in Chinese history.

STATE AND SOCIETY

Reunification came over a period of years. Its accomplishments can be seen as gradually [illegible] the rulers of Tang joined the Northern Zhou (557–581) [illegible] the efforts of that state, [illegible] the north as [illegible] the rival Northern Qi (550–577). The process culminated with the usurpation of the Zhou throne by Yang Jian (581) and his subsequent campaigns against the south, leading to the [illegible] defeat of the Chen [illegible] in Nanjing in 589. Yang was a member of the northern aristocracy, a military and civil power elite that ruled from the Northern Wei period onward, and a group of

Western Pass Land

[illegible] Pilgrim [illegible] Tang [illegible]

dynasties. But in many ways it diverges from both Han and non-Han conventions. His defeated southern peers were aristocratic too, but most of them were descendants of émigré Han Chinese families that had fled south with the collapse of the Jin in the early fourth century. While the two elites shared many things, after more than two centuries of division and conflict they regarded each other suspiciously, as mutually inferior. Part of Tang's strategy to create a strong empire was the selective adopting of southern culture and their cultural practices. The court culture that took shape in Sui and early Tang times was heavily indebted to southern traditions in such realms as court etiquette, ritual, calligraphy, and poetry. Thus while the most powerful families of the Sui and early Tang were hybrid northern lineages, their cultural models became those of the Han Chinese of the south.

The founding of Tang was viewed at the time as yet another episode of usurpation among these northern mixed-blood aristocrats. The Tang founder, [illegible] posthumously Gaozu (r. 618–626), was a general who betrayed his emperor and launched [illegible]

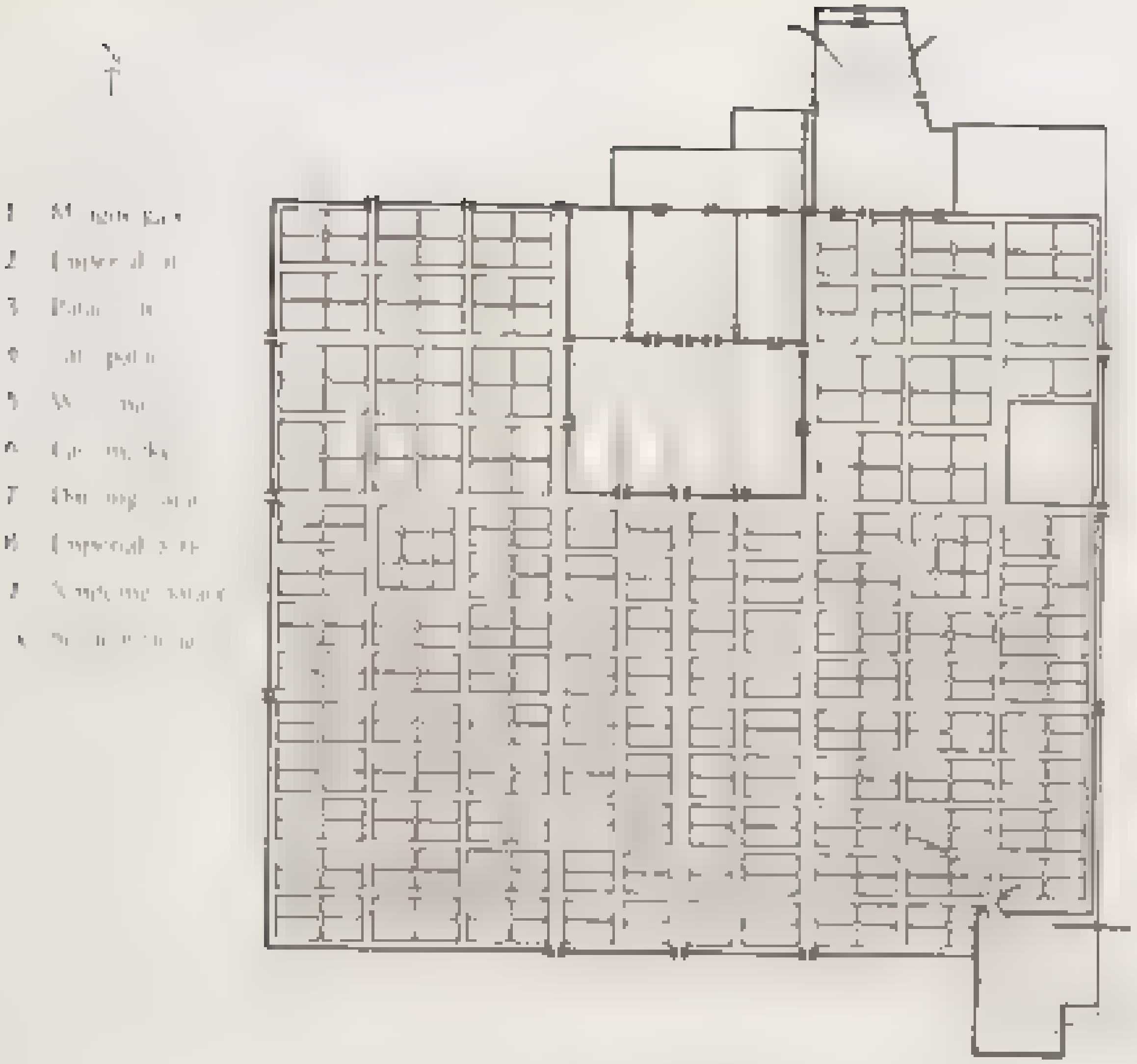
[illegible] foundations for a lengthy dynasty. But he had little opportunity to enjoy his success. His second son, later known as Taizong (the Grand Ancestor), in fact usurped his father's throne, murdering two brothers, including the heir, in the process. Taizong is often called the "second founder," and indeed the contributions of his era were fundamental. The era of good government over which he presided became a model to later periods and dynasties. A wise and conscientious emperor able to take command of civil and military challenges, working in concert with and even heeding the advice of his high ministers, was a powerful ideal for later [illegible]

Many of the major features of Tang society and culture were established in the Sui and early Tang, but in the seventh century the centralized regime imposed order on a nation of some 50 million people through an imperial bureaucracy of 13,500 officials. These officials were educated men drawn mainly from old lineages of the northwest and northeast who traditionally enjoyed favored social status. Although civil service examinations began during the seventh century, their main impact on governance seems to have been in unifying the ideology of the power elite and the opportunities created for provincial notables to enter capital politics. The military was drawn from the general population in a system of limited, rotating service first developed under the Northern Dynasties, and its maintenance did not pose a significant burden for the state. Over the period, the population shifted [illegible] gradually toward the fertile and productive South and Lower Yangzi River regions, leaving the Northwest and North relatively underpopulated. Land was registered and technically held in the Tang [illegible] equal-field system described in received texts may have been [illegible], based on the evidence of primary documents from such areas as Dunhuang and Turfan. Taxes were based on the population and the land. Although [illegible] was made a state monopoly [illegible], grain and cloth were the source for most state revenue. Public works [illegible] the [illegible] of the empire, most notably the canals linking the southeast to the Yellow River basin, to points north, and to the capital district.

A New Capital: Daxingcheng and Chang'an

Once again, in 582, the capital was sited in the Wei River valley of the Northwest macroregion. The Sui founder declared the existing city of Chang'an, ancient capital of the Han and seat of the defunct Northern Zhou, unsuitable for his new capital. He chose a site southeast of the old city for what was to become the largest city in the world in the seventh and eighth centuries. The area for Daxingcheng, named after the Sui founder's title, was organized as geomantically auspicious: Dragon Head Ridge occupied the northeast corner, the Wei River flowed beyond it to the north, and the high mountains of the Zhongnan range rose to the south. The plan was the most ambitious ever attempted: a walled city, roughly square in plan, measuring 6 miles (9.7 km) east to west and 5.3 miles (8.6 km) north to south (Fig. 6.2). The walls enclosing this vast [illegible]

modern city of Xi'an, were as much as [illegible]



[illegible] Plan of Chang'an [illegible]

2[illegible] brick faced, as [illegible] the two most [illegible] earth [illegible] [illegible] adjustment [illegible] the canonical prescription of the [illegible] Rites [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] city [illegible] [illegible] ran east to west and eleven from north to south. Most [illegible] in the order of 130–225 feet ([illegible] m) wide, although [illegible] beside the walls were [illegible] [illegible]. Two major avenues were appreciably larger. The main artery leading north from the principal south gate, Mingde Men, north to the imperial city was 490 feet (150 m) wide [illegible] and was [illegible] by drainage ditches and rows of locust trees. Similarly the great thoroughfare connecting the northern gates of the east and west walls also delimited the southern boundary of the palace and was as much as 720 feet (220 m) wide. These two arteries were the greatest 'public' spaces within the city [illegible] Chang'an [illegible] [illegible] the northern [illegible] known as the [illegible] [illegible]. The former was a rough [illegible] [illegible] feet ([illegible] m) wide [illegible] m) deep [illegible] here in an [illegible] the three central [illegible] and the [illegible] the Ancestral Temple and Altar of the Soil [illegible] of the imperial [illegible] were thus at the back [illegible] to the north. At the same time, they were [illegible] from the residential quarters [illegible] dominated the city proper. The palace in turn was a rectangle [illegible] with the same width but only 4,900 feet (1,500 m) deep north–south. It stood across the 720-foot-wide [illegible] mentioned above.

which served as a kind of palace square for mass assemblies and processions. The Son of Heaven's palace, the Tai Gong, occupied most of this area, shifted slightly east of the axis, and was flanked by two lesser establishments, including the palace of the heir on the east. Immediately beyond the northern wall was the Imperial Park (Xi Nei Yuan) for the recreation of the imperial family. The disposition of the Imperial and Palace cities at the north-central termination of the city axis is understood in the plans of the Eastern Wei and Northern Qi capital (see fig. [illegible] above).

The main arteries of the city, stretching from one gate to its opposite number, and formed a grid that subdivided the remainder of the city into 108 wards (fang). Those in the south measured about 1,820 feet (554 m) square. Contained by walls and divided internally by cross-axis grids ending in gates, wards in the city were designed to accommodate most of the city's population. In fact, the southernmost wards were never built up, and many may have remained cultivated fields or open land. The wards that flanked the Imperial and Palace City corridors, however, were significantly larger and were intended, it is supposed, for aristocratic residents. The single [illegible] took over one of these wards, and in the eighth century it became the favorite residence of Xuanzong, the Xingqing Palace. Still other areas were removed from residential use: the east and west markets. These were placed at the north edge of the residential wards, each about 3,000 feet (1 km) square. The most notable aspect of the Sui-Tang city design is perhaps its attempt to regulate all aspects of urban life, especially the coexistence of imperial court and general population. This plan segregated the palace and court bureaucracy, and the main features of the city served their needs. Other residents were managed as citizens of wards that shut their gates at nightfall. The markets served both the northern aristocratic and southern residential quarters of the city without disrupting the formal southern approach to the palace center. The Son of Heaven, moreover, was able to enjoy a less stifled atmosphere simply by passing out of his palace to the north. With one million inhabitants in the seventh century, Chang'an was not only the largest urban center in the world; it was also the most efficiently planned and awe-inspiring metropolis of its time.

No Tang buildings stand today within Chang'an (modern Xi'an), with the exception of several masonry pagodas (see, for example, fig. 6.14). A few segments of the Sui-Tang walls still remain visible above ground, and the city grid survives in areas of the modern city. In fact, it is possible to walk along major roads, especially within the Ming period (1368–1644) walls, that follow the paths of their Tang period predecessors. The foundations of much of the Tang city were destroyed long ago by rebuilding, but areas that have not been occupied over the intervening centuries have well-preserved Tang sites. For example, archaeologists excavated one of the Tang city gates in the 1970s, and it was sufficiently well preserved to allow informed reconstructions. Mingde Men, [illegible] the principal south gate, [illegible] the Imperial City [illegible] north [illegible] in the 1950s, but we know that the gate [illegible] was [illegible] in 634 [illegible] discussed below (see page 210). Like the other gates on the east, north, and west sides with five openings, each of its structures had five portals. The center opening was apparently reserved for the emperor and used only on those occasions such as when he left the city. The flanking and other portals were designated for less [illegible], while the two outer portals were given over to wheeled traffic.

The Imperial Palace [illegible] the new capital was developed with additional palaces in the reign of Taizong. One of these, known ultimately as the Daming Gong (Great Brilliance Palace), has become the best evidence available for large-scale imperial architecture. More than thirty foundations survive north of modern Xi'an as protected sites on the national register. Begun in the 630s, work was suspended until the 660s, when the Daming Gong was made the primary residence of the emperor. The palace occupied the high ground of Dragon Head Ridge and so, it is said, provided a warmer, drier, healthier environment for the Son of Heaven. It also allowed

palace (see fig. 6.8). The placement of such figures within the successive portions of the tomb explicitly enforces the parallels between this underground abode and the palaces of the living. Encompassing over hundreds of square yards of wall surface in the largest tombs, these murals are the best surviving evidence for the stock of Tang palace paintings. Durable and well preserved, commissioned by the highest levels of society in the capital, this evidence eclipses other bodies of Tang painting, constructed later.

The honor guard of Prince Yide is an array of guardsmen, cavalry, and chariots marshaled before the crenelated walls of the prince's mansion. The 6.8 soldiers with swords at their belts stand in formation, [illegible] Each horse has its own groom, holding the reins. Men with quivers at their side comprise the bowmen of his detachment. Red-clad officials [illegible] the beat tables, somewhat behind the [illegible] with large chariots of the prince, each with canopies and pennants unfurled. The painters repeated a selection of stock types in order to create this scene, and at the same time they introduced enough minute

variations—a sideways glance, an implied silent interaction—so that the groupings are never [illegible]. Figures and horses occupy a semblance of shallow space. Much attention has obviously been given to overlapping and [illegible] limbs. [illegible] the exposed ground [illegible] figures are [illegible] with a [illegible] line. [illegible] the painters depict the rear ranks at the same scale as the front, without worrying about how the composition might signify about a viewer's position. [illegible] emphasis on large figures [illegible] the horse and the stages and peaks of a mountainous terrain. Near and distant are [illegible] nothing [illegible] between.

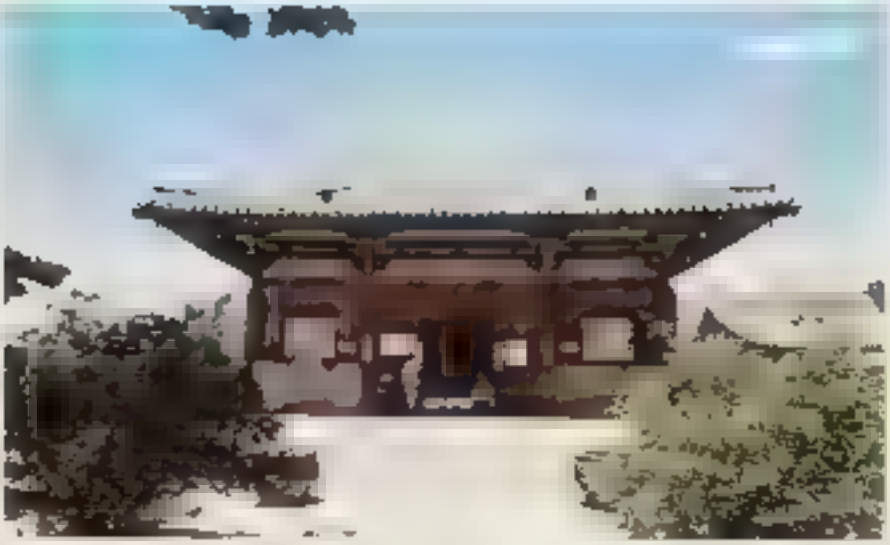
[illegible] hunting scene [illegible] (fig. 6-7) on the east wall of the passage in the tomb of Prince Zhanghuai (Li Xian, d. 684). [illegible] riders carry pennants [illegible] them another group of four [illegible] breakneck speed. Together the groups form a continuous [illegible] suggests [illegible] space, but they both occupy much line. All the horses and riders are distinct, and they are shown in various poses, profile and three-quarters, both frontal and reversed. The riders [illegible] different ways, turning in the saddle or [illegible]. The variety [illegible] impression and we were looking at separate frames of the [illegible] the many of the stages in the movements of horse and rider. This hunting scene unfolds against white wall surface, but nearby are earlier images [illegible] of [illegible] over the [illegible] detailed [illegible] of the landscape [illegible] to show we are outside the prince's royal mansion. Landscape motifs are not scaled with attention

[illegible] the front chamber of this same tomb we find a large panel devoted to moments in the life of serving women (fig. 6-8). One woman wrapped in a shawl stands before a [illegible] tree in a garden of the prince's palace. Another, a young woman wearing the leggings and cloak of a man, [illegible] to be pondering the cicada on the tree trunk. [illegible] also [illegible] on the [illegible] shown [illegible] a more [illegible] with arms [illegible] head [illegible]. These [illegible]. The woman [illegible] shown [illegible]. We have many examples [illegible].

STATE PATRONAGE OF THE DHARMA

The Dharma flourished in Sui–Tang times. Although established long before, [illegible] in this period Buddhism assumed a more [illegible] with Chinese society. Much of its [illegible] can be traced to the active [illegible] of the Sui and Tang emperors [illegible] as sovereign in 690–705 were not exceptional. The patronage and wealth of imperial [illegible] such as the translations carried out by Xuanzang (c. 596–664) or the [illegible] at the Longmen [illegible] (see figs. 6-[illegible] and 6-[illegible]). Buddhist temples in the two Tang capitals were centers of social and [illegible] life and the focus of the greatest patronage [illegible] of the age. Leading painters of the day made their names by executing murals in these metropolitan establishments. Especially devout imperial clan members were responsible for the extraordinary richness of the reliquary deposits unearthed in recent years at the Famen Temple west of Chang'an (see figs. 6-15 and 6-16). Indeed, the success of the Buddhist community was also

The Timber Frame System



[illegible] Nanjuan [illegible]

[illegible]

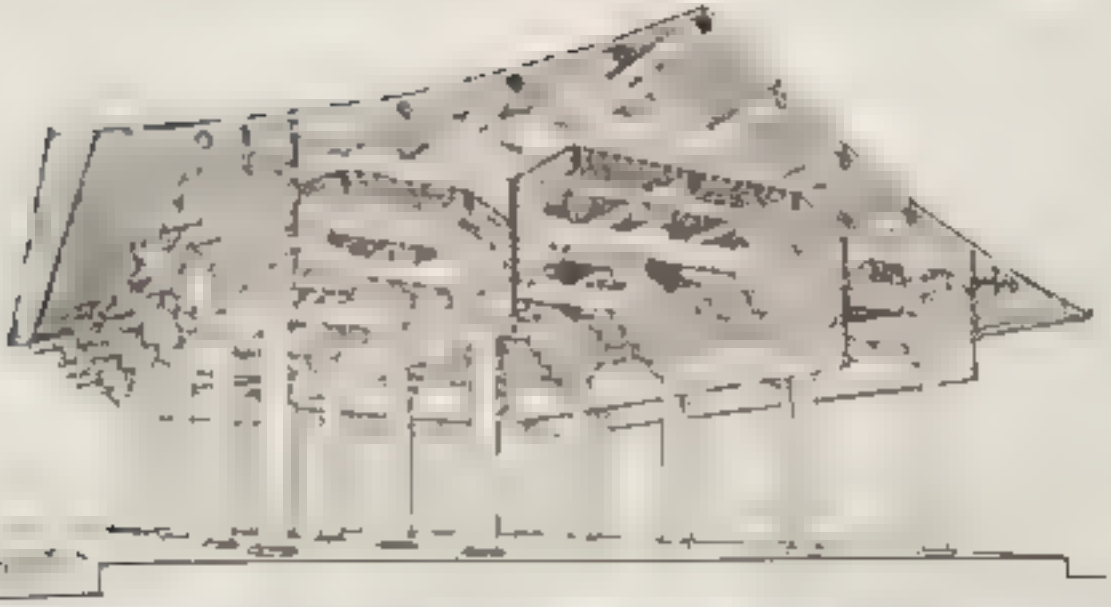
[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

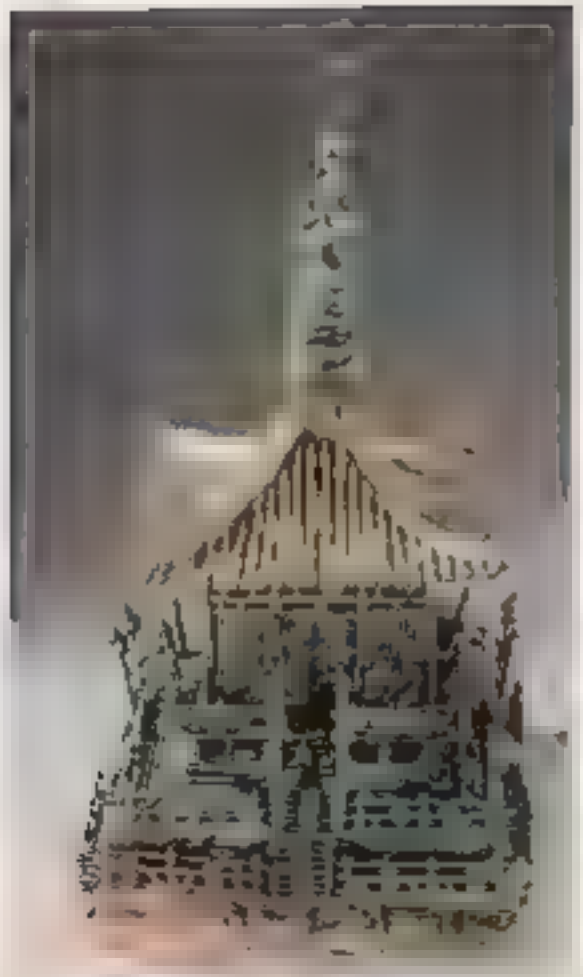


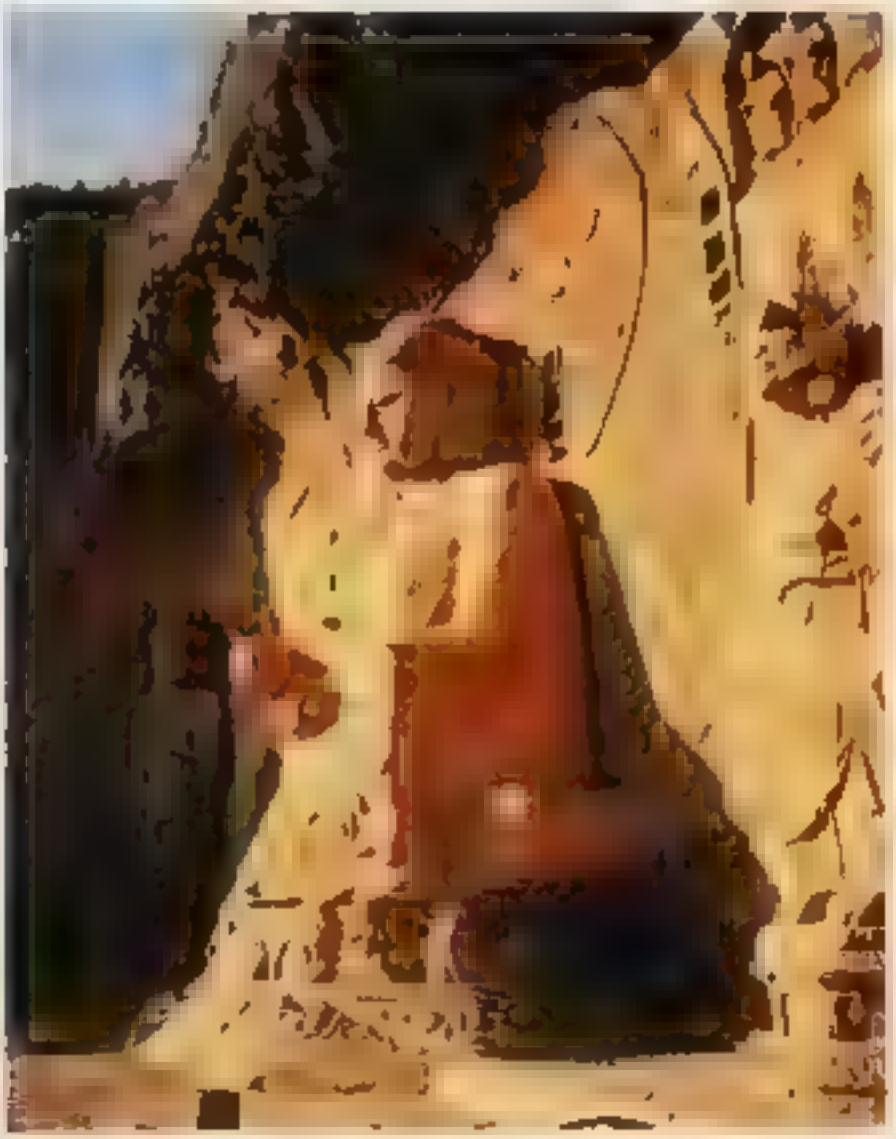
[illegible]

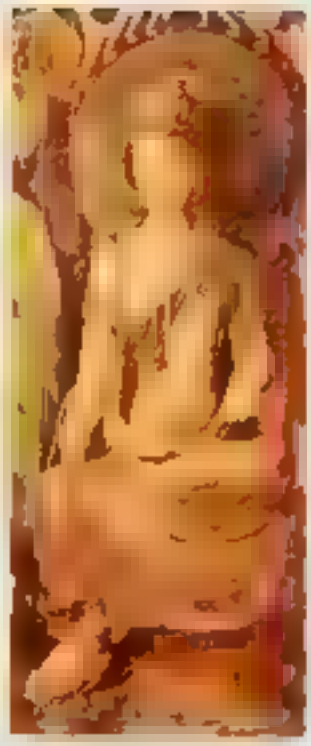
especially of the [illegible] tomb [illegible] best seen at the [illegible] Buddhist pagodas have been [illegible] to ascend. The best known example is the [illegible] Pagoda [illegible] temple dedicated to his mother by [illegible] rebuilt by Empress Wu c. 701–704. Rising [illegible] base 92 feet (25 m) square to a height of [illegible] from Tang [illegible] mass of the brick [illegible] pilasters [illegible] beam with only blocks above

[illegible]

[illegible]







6.24 Bodhisattva and a disciple, mid

lesser from an ascetic
a participate in the so
cosmic

Buddhist Themes at Dunhuang

Far first-hand accounts of the mural paintings the halls and precinctes of the great temple of the Tang capital survive from the ninth century. Most donors names are represented and credited with these paintings and sculptures. Many may have contributed important donations in the evolving conception and life of these sanctuaries. The great pilgrimage halls and the vast cavities of rock temples and temple precincts demanded all manner of art. As early as the ninth century, would seek out fragments of these other sites, even at such remote locations, to get a sense of Tang Buddhist wall painting. The primary source as the murals of the Mogao caves at Dunhuang. The range of subjects surviving here parallels themes from the Tang capital as well and data ble examples span most of the Tang period.

The most popular trend with the gentry or devotional Buddhism during Tang times was the Pure Land (Sukhavati) school, whose teachings and imagery appealed to a cross section of Tang society. Many of the largest and most

murals at the Mogao chapels from the seventh and eighth centuries derive from one of three texts associated with these teachings. The Smaller Sukhavati and Larger Sukhavati sutras, as their names suggest, section the simpler and more approachable and more sophisticated statements of a complex cluster of ideas about the Western Pure Land. A tiny text of Sukhavati that was presented even by Amitabha Buddha. Most scholars think these texts developed in Central Asia and possibly of an ancient Indian Sanskrit source. The teachings offer a hope and death in Sukhavati, a realm beyond time and space, a realm where one is reborn in a state of perfect bliss and enlightenment. It is a realm of the seven orders of beings and it stands closer to one than Buddhist ideas of the realm of death, achieving birth and the Smaller Sutra in particular emphasizes the efficacy of chanting Amitabha's name. [illegible]

The Larger Sutra portrays Sakyamuni Buddha preaching which he has given a human to Amitabha in a trance in a mode of meditation. [illegible] Mahasthamaprapta. The text also assigns prominent roles to Amitabha's two great bodhisattva attendants, Avalokitesvara (Guanshiyin or more commonly known in Chinese as Mahasthamaprapta Dashi).

Fully elaborated compositions of these scenes are found in many large caves at the Mogao chapels. The north wall of Cave 217 is an early 8th century example that has suffered extensive damage (c. 705). The central panel presents the lotus right as the lower part of the scene has been amputated. Amitabha sits on a large seated lotus with standing and seated attendants on a tiered platform that occupies the center of the composition. Other platforms with railings and bridges link them to the center, hold the entourages of the two great bodhisattvas. [illegible] The lower register is another stage-like area with musicians, dancers, and two additional standing Buddha figures. The top third of the scene presents an array of pavilions, galleries, and towers. The strong rising orthogonal lines of the middle register platforms and the down-sweep lines of the roofs and eaves above create a kind of vortex at the level of Amitabha's head. The visual emphasis is on the majesty of the three great actors in this spectacle and on the hallowed place of their Pure Land, a realm emphasized in the Larger Sukhavati sutra.

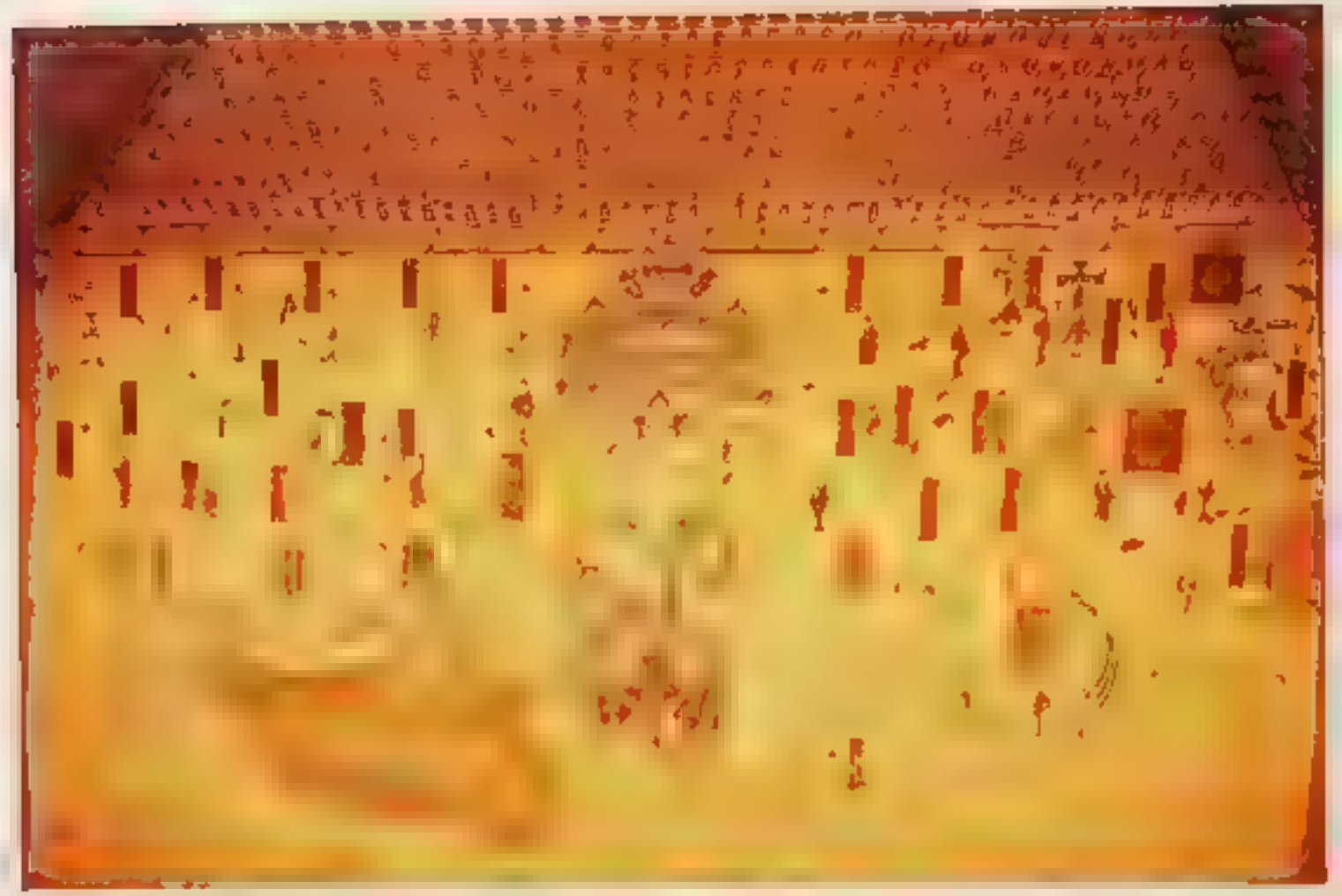
A third feature of the Pure Land sutras was the emphasis on visiting Sukhavati (or the visualization sutra) as Wuliangshou Jing, translates text, is a narrative on the effects of visualization, given a mental discipline in which the devotee is instructed in imagery of the Pure Land at the time, step by step. [illegible] death, a preparation, indeed a rehearsal, for rebirth in the Pure Land. Two vertical panels from the north wall of Cave 45 (mid-8th century) [illegible] Queen Vaidehi [illegible]. The scene shows the Sixteen Visual Contemplations performed by the queen at Amitabha's feet. [illegible] the queen's contemplations are marked by a brown arch with [illegible]. The middle ground is a place of [illegible] and enlightenment. The artist [illegible] the objects [illegible] the forms to be revealed [illegible] procedure [illegible] and [illegible] Among [illegible] in his panel are the four [illegible] the three [illegible] visions [illegible] Pure Land [illegible] the seventh. These sections may have been displayed across [illegible] wall [illegible] campaign.

[illegible] Amitabha [illegible] Bodhisattvas [illegible] with [illegible] great [illegible] in [illegible] The [illegible] south wall of Cave 45 [illegible] (c. 723) illustrates well the independent role of Avalokitesvara. This ambitious composition vividly assembles three distinct aspects of Guanyin. At the center is a large standing iconic image of the deity under a canopy. Here the great bodhisattva is strictly frontal, bedecked with strands of jewels and sashes, a miniature Amitabha in the headpiece confirming the identity. Across the top is an array of [illegible] to assume various divine and human guises as described in the well known "Pumen Pin" (Gate

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]



6-23 Manifestations of Buddhahood

[illegible]

6-24 Sketch of a monk

[illegible]

[illegible] the strong structural [illegible]

While most of the painted works recovered from the site are on silk banners, the silk many other items like the Jingang sutra are on paper. Some of these are clearly sketches or practice drawings made by painters active in the region. Other works are designs that preceded a mural or a display such as posters for travelling monks to hang on the walls. An ink drawing of a seated monk (fig. 6-24) [illegible] be a finished work. The [illegible] ink [illegible] without either ink wash or color, this subject has close parallels in several small chambers at the Mogao site used for memorial images of monks, including Cave 17 where the local monk found the great cache. It may therefore be a design for such a project. On the other hand, the drawing is without mistake or emendation, unlike preparatory sketches. There is no reason to think, save for its lack of color, that it is not finished. Tang artists working

[illegible]

[illegible] LIFE AND ELITE ART

[illegible]

6.26 Attributed to Yan Liben
Thirteen Emperors

[illegible] Tang [illegible]

for grouping figures, in [illegible] poses [illegible] and even some details of [illegible] such as hair dress [illegible] a painting [illegible] Chen Kang [illegible] painting illustrates [illegible] elegant [illegible] century [illegible] Moreover, the composition [illegible] cannot be [illegible] as evidence for [illegible] the present [illegible] is assembled [illegible] of silk that may [illegible] have been [illegible] a different painting.

The figures are perhaps the best [illegible] date [illegible] These ladies display many of the features of Tang taste and style described in the poetry and other writings of the day. They are not excessively slim nor heavy. They wear high-waisted [illegible] without sleeves and sumptuous wraps with large [illegible] the dress [illegible] patterns and artificial peony blooms [illegible]

[illegible] painting [illegible] from the seventh and eighth centuries [illegible]

[illegible] Xinjiang. She wears [illegible] a gauze shawl or long scarf. The makeup includes [illegible] brows, a [illegible] forehead [illegible] and bright lips. Other fragments of [illegible]

Cosmopolitan Life

[illegible]

gifts of [illegible]

The refugees [illegible]

Working silver and gold required [illegible]

[illegible] Chinese tradition [illegible]

[illegible] in gold vessels [illegible] patterns [illegible]

[illegible]

mon as a decorative technique [illegible] gold patches applied to silver. This technique has Chinese precedents in the [illegible]

[illegible]

The latter half of the [illegible] was the high point of [illegible] silver vessel production [illegible]

[illegible]

to the Famen Temple made offerings [illegible] censers, bowls, salt cellars, tea grinders and a variety of other objects from the [illegible]

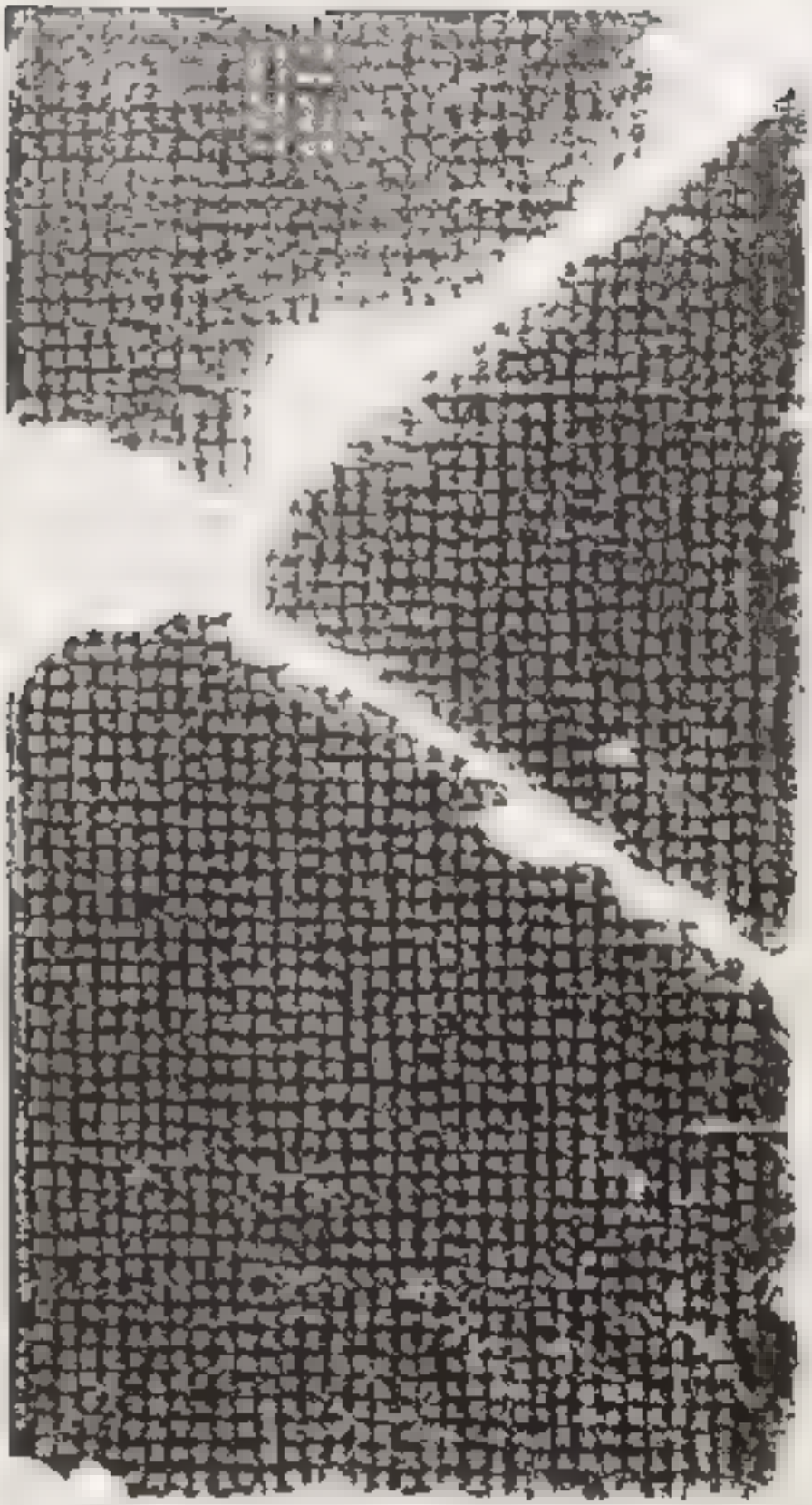
developments enhance the overall presence made Tang society, at least in the capital and other urban areas. In Tang society the elite had both become and the opportunity to enjoy a wide range of luxury goods available to them. An influx of overseas [illegible] and styles gave [illegible] marked than ever, stimulating [illegible] and demand [illegible]. Traditional products such as glazed stonewares and silk textiles provided to an increasingly [illegible] and more [illegible] traditions with relatively short [illegible] such as the working of gold and silver also [illegible] a new impetus.

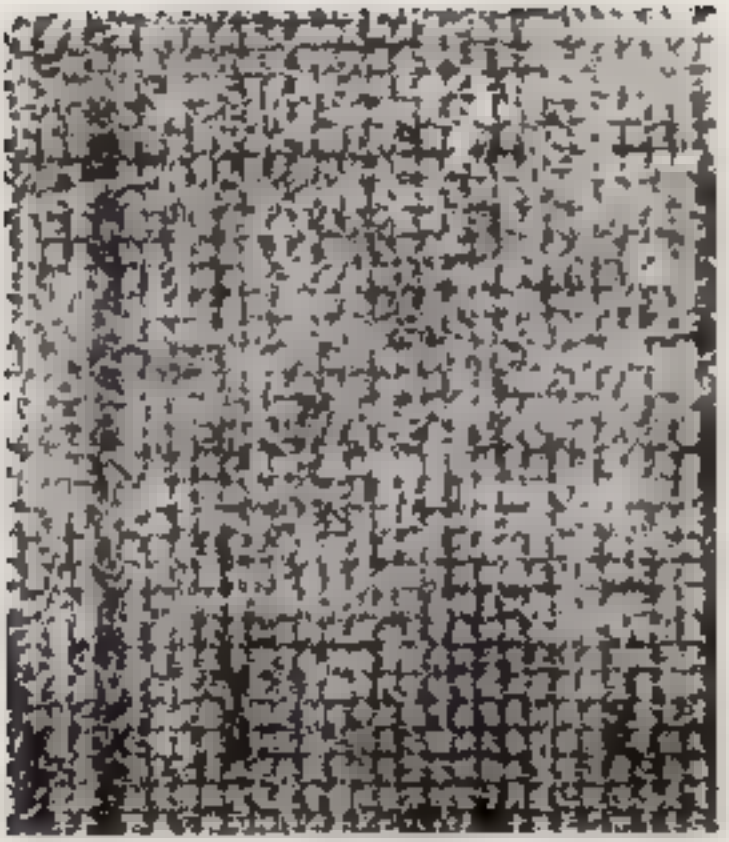
One legacy of the Sui and early Tang emphasis on [illegible] of the [illegible] was the growth in all kinds of ceramic production. The greater number of kiln centers active in middle and late Tang times overshadowed the [illegible] a number of such centers presently known from the Sui. Production in the south continued to expand with a strong emphasis on greenwares, [illegible] especially in Zhejiang, where the Yue kilns were active. Production of white wares was concentrated in the north, in modern Hebei and Henan. While these macroregions were famous for distinct ceramic traditions, in fact individual production centers more often than not sold a range of wares with several different glazes. An example of such a multifaceted production complex was the Huangpo kilns [illegible] Shaanxi, the source of the kilns for the Xuzhou wares of Song and Ming periods. The Huangpo site has revealed dense deposits with hundreds of thousands of sherds and wasters [illegible] along the bank of the river. Workshops were set up near the bank for forming and glazing the different wares, and many [illegible] kilns were used for the wares. The production included architectural [illegible] for the tomb, and a range of [illegible] and funerary wares for everyday use.

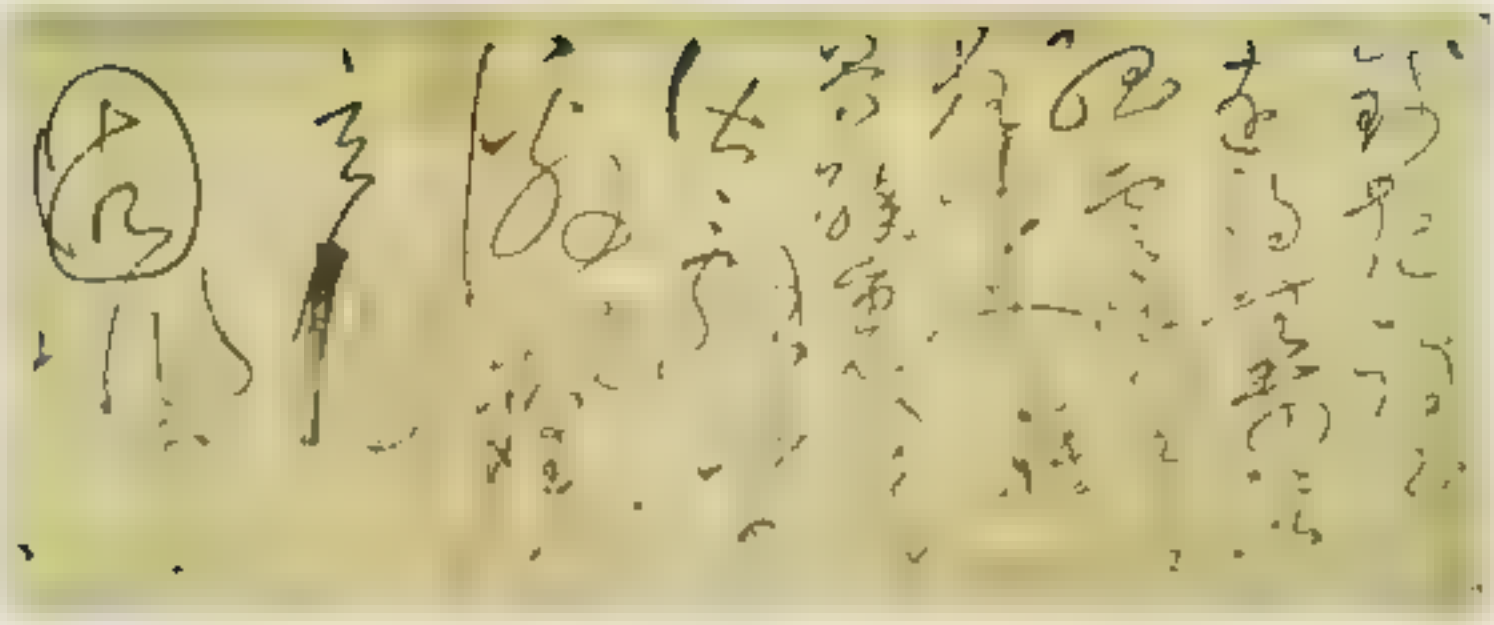
Although East Asian and Euro-American archaeologists have long [illegible] the chronology of porcelain, it can now be said [illegible] that true porcelains first appeared in the Tang period. The [illegible] kaolin had been known and used in North China since prehistoric

With successive refining and washing [illegible] pounding, the particles were reduced [illegible] fully. The ceramists added feldspar and [illegible] to the [illegible] glaze. The effect of [illegible] increased [illegible] water content of the glass surface [illegible] the Pines. The body [illegible] glass—same as bone—between [illegible] and [illegible] white. The [illegible] had the [illegible] impression [illegible] water also [illegible] which [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] however [illegible] Tang wares. Tang white wares are best known from [illegible] including Quyang, Hebei, and Gongyi [illegible] Henan.

Another Tang ceramic [illegible] pieces be high achievements of Song and later times is that of Yue celadons. This area [illegible] with kilns [illegible] Zhejiang as flourished [illegible] Southern Dynasties. Tang period production was centered around such cities as Shangyu, Yuyao, and Ningbo. Zhejiang. The Yue kilns were [illegible] large quantities of their production for the Tang court as tribute. They also shipped their output overseas to Japan, Korea, and Southeast Asia from the port of Ningbo. Yue wares were used in food, tea, and wine service. The great [illegible] of tea drinking may have affected the popularity of celadons in particular. Yue tea bowls were already [illegible] highly valued wares in the view of the Tang [illegible] [illegible] The best [illegible] that [illegible] the Tang dynasty [illegible] to be [illegible] [illegible] several pieces of this high [illegible] were [illegible] the crypt of the Famen Temple [illegible] 200[illegible]–[illegible] shows [illegible] [illegible] and have shown that the highest quality Yue wares predate the [illegible] centuries [illegible] porcelains. The body is thin, a greenish body and a [illegible] glaze, and [illegible] appears in the glassy surface, the result of the different rates of cooling of body and glaze. Chinese connoisseurs greatly prized both the depth of the celadon color and its crackle.







[illegible] the graphic [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Another subject of considerable interest to Tang patrons, artists and painters was that of fine horses. Emperor Taizong had his best war horses memorialized in a design by Yan Liben for a tomb erected at his tomb, the Zhaoling. Some of these are now in the University of Pennsylvania Museum. The Tang horse is a whole, big-boned horse, as seen in Xuan Ze's tomb, a descendant of the Ferghana horse, the most famous of all post-Han horses after buried in a Tang tomb at Shaanxi, in Xi'an during about 650. The work shows also the emperor's favorite horse, a stallion somewhat resembling, right, a pied against a wood. Important discussion of this work leads back to a fourth century AD [illegible] in Han cart, above, to the early eighth century. The painting is recorded as one of Han [illegible] projects on behalf of Emperor Xuanzong. The point of has concentrated on the horses powerful silhouette, the muscled [illegible] and the animation of the horses eyes, nostrils and mouth. Like the depiction of noble women, the painting of horses was a genre that flourished intermittently after the Tang period, a subject indeed inextricable to the ethos of the imperial house.

BEYOND THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

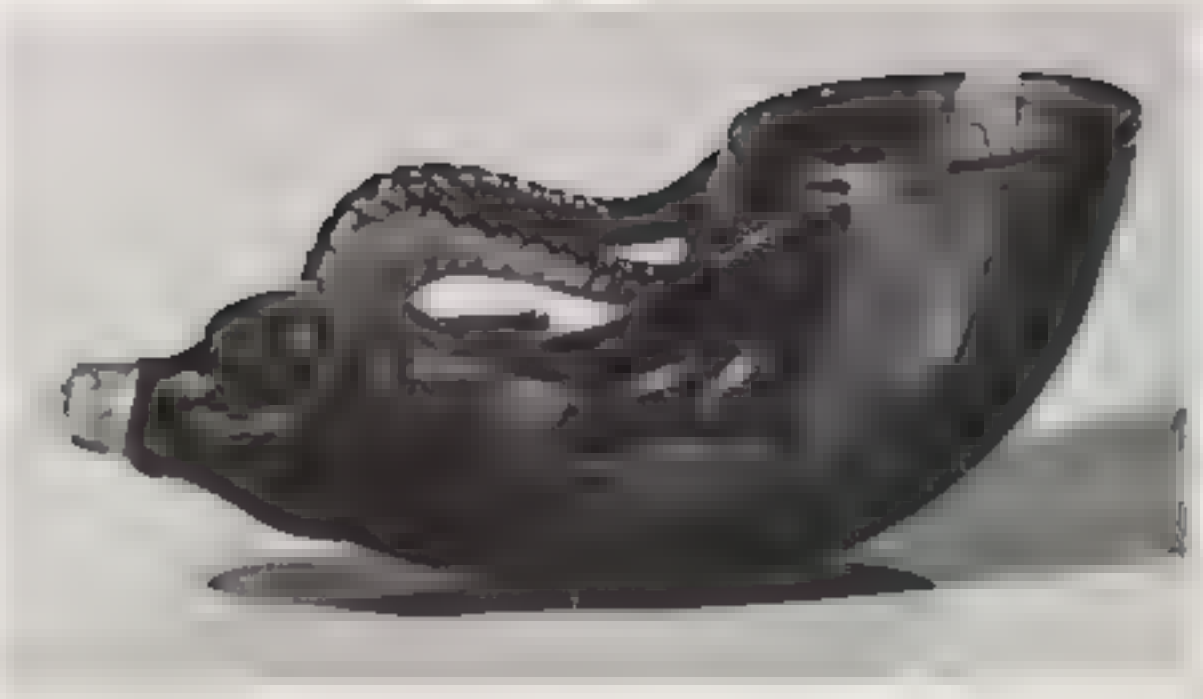
The Sui and Tang capitals attracted visitors from throughout East, South, and Central Asia. Literary testimony of such visitors includes the travel journals of Arab, Japanese, and Korean travelers, and such inscriptions as the Jingjiao Nestorian Stele of Xi'an, which records a small Christian community during the eighth century. The residents of Chang'an were not surprised that their city drew such diverse peoples. After all, Tang armies projected the power of the Son of Heaven into the Tarim Basin, the Korean peninsula, and the northern reaches of modern Vietnam. Chinese pilgrim monks and secular travelers made

afield in the southern ocean. Xuanzang, whose *Record of the Western Regions* (Xiyu ji), supplies rich documentation about the peoples of the Silk Road area, [illegible] [illegible] Tang officials and [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]



and Japan exhibit features for which we seek any Sui–Tang or earlier Chinese source. Given these differences, works in the [illegible] again cannot be used as interchangeable surrogates for lost Sui–Tang structures. In this very [illegible], borrowing was selective, driven by the needs and goals of the borrowers.

The Sui–Tang periods bear out some of the other [illegible] the dangers of using points of chronology to [illegible]. [illegible] of many more [illegible] military [illegible] as yet another instance. The [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] century [illegible] a new kind of [illegible] commensurate in scope and [illegible] national. [illegible] features [illegible] the medieval [illegible] centuries [illegible] was lacking [illegible] and the foundation of [illegible] dramatically different [illegible] the first and second [illegible]

TECHNOLOGIES AND CULTURES OF THE SONG

The [illegible] the late first millennium C.E. was one of the most dynamic periods in Chinese history. In these historians' terms it was a period of innovation, economic development, and social change. For convenience we will refer to the period as the Song era, after the two Chinese dynasties that spanned most of this age, but competitive regimes ruled substantial territories at various times, including the non-Chinese Liao and Jin dynasties. In the social arena, the shift from Tang-era politics and culture dominated by a hereditary aristocracy to the Song state, in which power and prestige were at least shared by educated scholar-officials, had long-term implications. The meritocratic openness of the examination system as an avenue to become rich, position, power, and wealth is often exaggerated, since the families had many advantages and provided a disproportionate number of successful candidates. Nonetheless, the idea of meritocracy rather than birth as the avenue to success, that took hold in this period, spread to the rest of the imperial era as a motor for the growth of schools, publishing, and the proliferation of the kinds of literary and historical scholarship that were most relevant to examination success.

Economic developments also contributed to social change. This was a dynamic era of growth in population—which reached about 100 million by the late Song—and of commerce and urban life. In rural economies, markets opened new ventures for elite participation, as paintings and calligraphies were displayed in restaurants and teahouses, and song-poems from popular dramas circulated on the streets.

Technological innovation was as important—and even more distinctive of Song China—as social and economic change. The great inventions of the Song—the magnetic mariner's compass, printing with woodblocks and movable clay type, gunpowder and firearms, and large-scale porcelain productions—had worldwide importance when they spread eventually to the rest of the world and profound consequences for human life in economic, military, and social realms. Song China was the most technologically advanced state of its time, and its accomplishments in [illegible] were admired as sophisticated [illegible]

[illegible] and made [illegible] economies in the Lower Yangtze related well to urban Song China, became a center of education and of intellectual discourse, especially through the circulation of printed books.

Each of these areas of development had important consequences for the arts. In ceramics, for example, we see technical innovations in manufacture, the construction of large-scale production centers, and in the social realm, the association of certain wares with particular groups and places as markers of distinction. The rise of landscape painting as an independent genre may have

7 Long-necked vase, south Yaozhou

[illegible]

been linked with [illegible] and changing and [illegible] economies. Even [illegible] theories and synthetic terms [illegible] linked to the competition between interest groups and political factions. Some aspects of [illegible] change, but were relatively suppressed in the [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] are as revealing as those aspects that were prominently celebrated. In the Song, [illegible] include the cultures of [illegible] peoples, the status of women, [illegible] and subjects in artistic culture, and the diversity of [illegible] traditions.

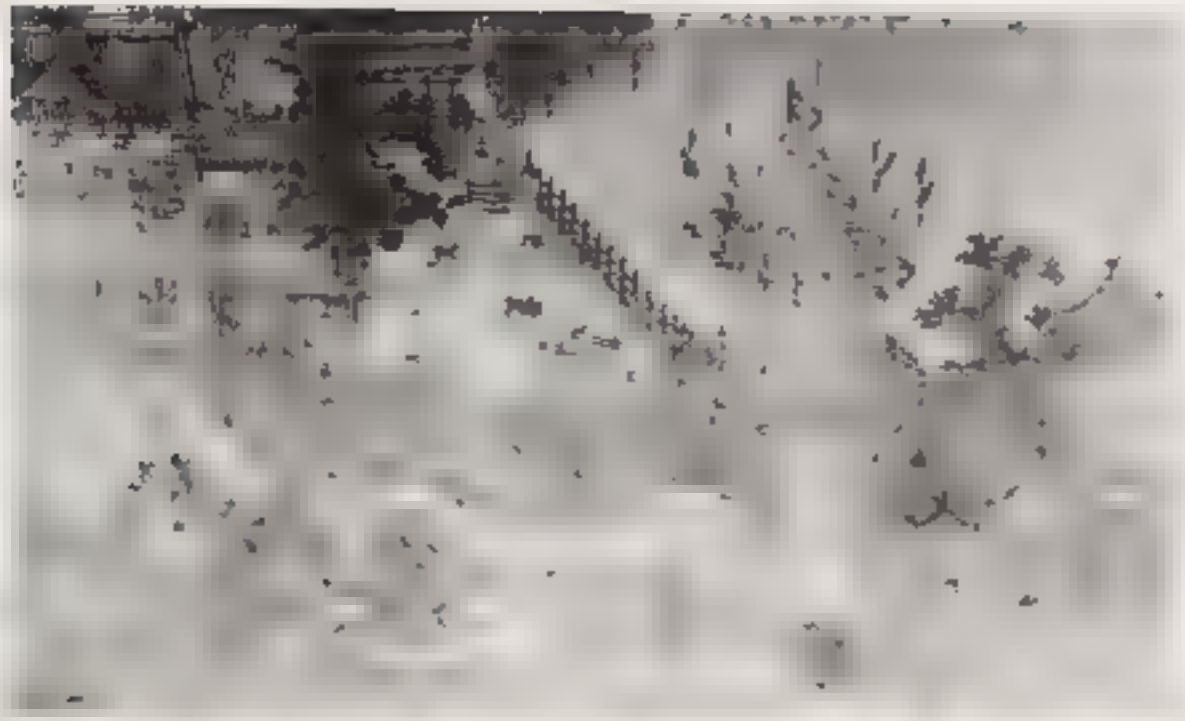
These Song centuries [illegible] social, [illegible] and technological changes were embedded within a dynamic landscape of political history. The long period of fragmentation of the late Tang period in the ninth century, which saw the rise of regional military commanders and a major suppression of Buddhist monasteries, [illegible] in 845, gave way to an acknowledged era of local centers of power known as the Five Northern Dynasties and Ten Southern Kingdoms. All of these regimes rose and fell within the period of barely more than half a century, but this was nonetheless a culturally dynamic era, with especially important developments in painting at the regional courts of the southern Tang, centered in Nanjing in southeast China, and Shu in the southwestern Sichuan region.

While the reunification of China under the rule of the Northern Eastern Song, starting in 960 CE and completed within twenty years, saw the end of the political centers to north central China at modern Kaifeng, a site linked to the emerging prosperous southeast by canal systems. The Northern Song was a period of flourishing technology and commerce with considerable military capability. Northern Song China, however, had formidable rivals along the north and northwestern frontiers. The Liao dynasty of the Khitan peoples and the Western Xia dynasty of the Tangut were regimes of nomadic origin, but by this time were partly sedentary [illegible] [illegible] and based systems of purchased peace through [illegible] [illegible] and gifts. Around the decades from 1000 to 1050 the Northern Song government was deeply [illegible] by factional rivalries [illegible] the sweeping [illegible] and land reforms proposed by the minister Wang Anshi (1021–1086). His opponents, representing for the most part the conservative interests of families of landholders and officials, included some of the most prominent poets, painters, and calligraphers of the [illegible].

The profound political debates of the late eleventh century gave way in the early twelfth century to a more central position for artistic pursuits and cultural standards. The emperor Huizong, who ruled during this era (1101–1125), is closely linked, through personal production, sponsorship, or taste, with the appearance of elegant calligraphy, the knowledgeable observation of bird and flower paintings, monochrome imperial wares, [illegible] and the elaborate garden complex and artificial mountain at his palace. [illegible] [illegible] were [illegible] [illegible] painters at the Northern Song court, and the [illegible] of compilations of painters as well as the publication of a catalogue of imperial collections of ancient bronzes and paintings. Huizong has been accused of neglecting the affairs of state in favor

Northern Song and Liao empires, 1111

Southern Song, 1141



[illegible]

[illegible] from Ma[illegible]

diplomatic efforts to establish them as a con[illegible] control.

The four[illegible] captive [illegible] the Song emperor and his [illegible] succeeded [illegible] along with several thou[illegible] members of his family and [illegible]

[illegible] of withstanding the refugee Song court in [illegible]

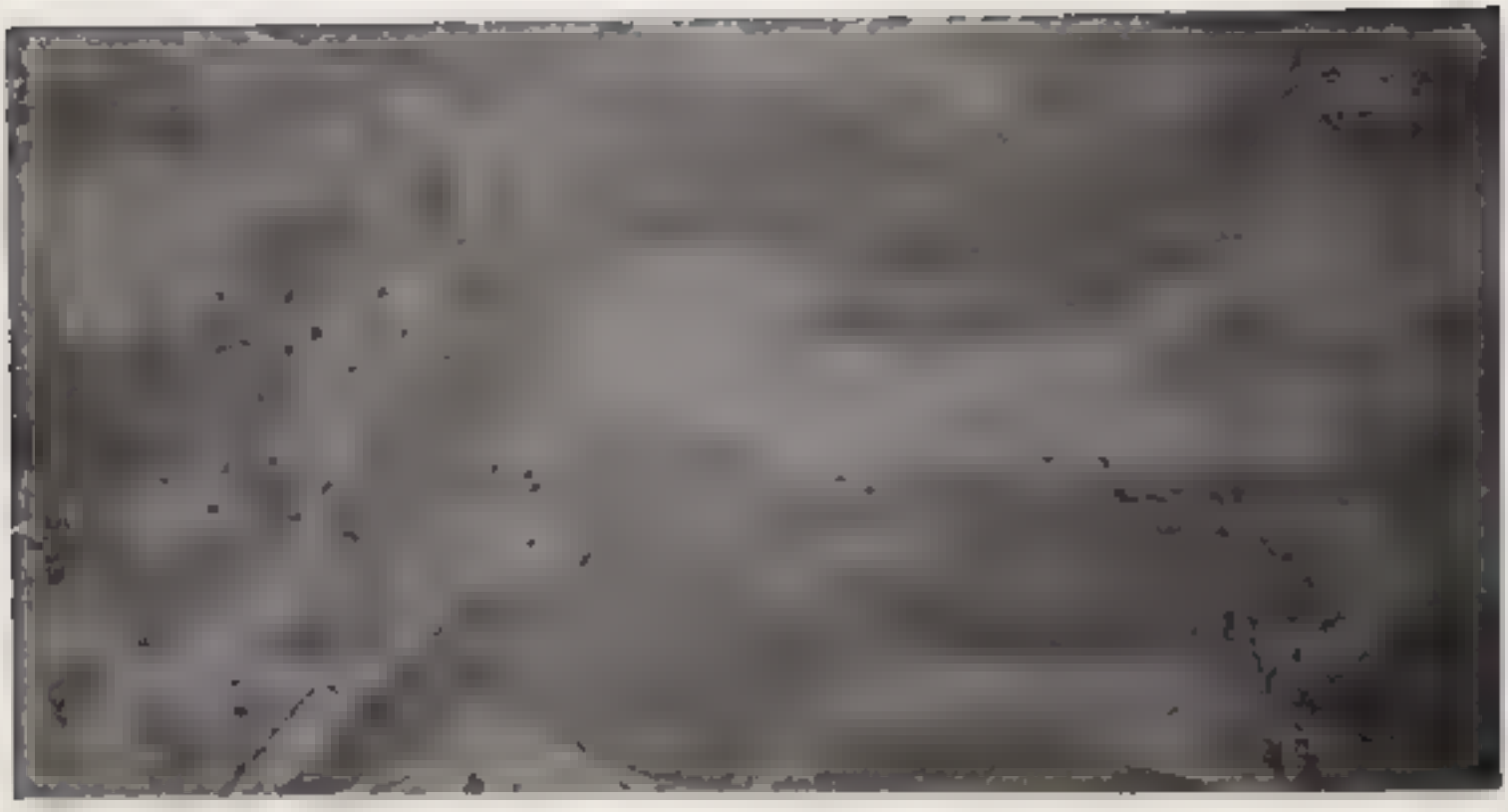
[illegible] a southern court, moving the [illegible] capital to Hangzhou, which was considered [illegible] [illegible]

the prese[illegible] the culture of high [illegible] gentlemen that had emerged during the late eleventh century through the encouragement of scholars and poets. The Southern (Later) Song region was under continuing diplomatic and military pressure from the north, first from the Jurchen and later from the Mongol conquerors of the Jin. The Mongols largely completed their conquest of China in 1276 when they took Hangzhou and the beleaguered last Song emperor threw him

[illegible] the Five Dynasties and Son[illegible]

[illegible] were designed by specialists with knowledge of useful techniques and belonged to government and [illegible] programs of public improvement.

A short handscroll painting dating [illegible] seventh century depicts a water mill [illegible] as the center of a busy network of transportation and activity. All of the buildings, including



5 Zhang Zeduan [illegible]

and occupations depicted with a variety of detail that allowed the viewer to understand their construction and organization. The emphasis on boats and river traffic is a reminder of the importance of both domestic waterways and maritime trade to the Song economy. The capital at Kaifeng was connected by canals to the immense navigable systems of the southern Yangzi River and its tributaries, which were thousands of [illegible] (30,000 km) long, and linked in turn to the big sea [illegible]. Passenger boats up to 65 feet (20 m) in length filled the rivers, and the big high sea junks with watertight partitioned hulls, stern-post rudders, multiple decks and masts, which were navigated with the aid of the mariner's compass, had [illegible]. The central moment of Spring Festival on the River builds up to and away from an arched or "rainbow" bridge midway along the length of the scroll, where a boat crew is hurriedly lowering a mast and rigging to allow the vessel to pass safely beneath the bridge. Onlookers on the bridge above are shown from the rows of food stalls and vendors that line its length to watch the operation [illegible] the same interest and the [illegible] superstructure [illegible] other settings [illegible] place or time. The streets in the [illegible] shops are shown many with signs or billboards, apothecaries and restaurants. The panorama, moving right to left in the customary unrolling direction of a horizontal scroll, ends by moving a stream of merchants and [illegible] including a camel caravan, monks [illegible] entering the city under a tower gate. Beyond the interest of the [illegible] careful and [illegible] renderings of people and objects, the scroll may have been intended to commemorate the prosperity and, by implication, the good government of the Northern Song capital. Later versions of this composition, including one produced at the Qing-dynasty court in the eighteenth century, where the architecture, entertainments, and pastimes were updated to reflect a more contemporary prosperity, served

structure and organization of things seen in Spring Festival is a widespread concern in Song-era painting and sculpture. It is visible elsewhere in the meticulous rendering of flowers, plants and animals, the subtle atmospheric and tonal textures in landscapes, and [illegible] effects of [illegible] figure painting and sculpture. More than in any other era of China, Song art was broadly engaged with the [illegible] representation of appearances and the systematization of complex phenomena. When [illegible] as a kind of [illegible] representational problems [illegible] straightforward [illegible] complex [illegible] and [illegible] the way of representing the world [illegible] the spatial and [illegible] through the common pictorial devices such as foreshortening, consistent viewpoints, and perspectival [illegible] drawing [illegible] Renaissance Europe, such devices convey an attention to matter and [illegible] the world through representation, a shaping of that [illegible], and a [illegible] distancing of the viewer from scene or subject. [illegible] are at work. Realism could also serve the expression of political ideology, as in the claims of prosperity, flourishing commerce, and good administration both in the social and economic relations [illegible] in Spring Festival. Still other varieties and functions of realism were operative elsewhere in Song art. Meticulous transcription of appearances could aim at recording and preserving auspicious phenomena, perhaps even realizing their supernatural efficacy. Other Song realisms are related to a scientific outlook that valued close observation and classification.

The political and ideological purposes of paintings, even those of commercial and [illegible] subjects, could thus be as important as their representations of material fact. Identifying the sponsors and audiences for such paintings helps

[illegible]

[illegible] suggests that [illegible] village the [illegible] be [illegible] of [illegible] animals and [illegible] a doll carp [illegible] Song mandarin [illegible] and [illegible] horses [illegible] Song was [illegible] painter [illegible] have been intended as a sense painting for the amusement

[illegible] abundance [illegible] economic and glimpses of acquisitiveness on the part of both vendor and children. The artist's inscription which claims the ability to render "[illegible] hundred separate objects within the diameter of the atomen leaf

7.7 Southern Song [illegible] 1200s–1230s. View of the West Lake at [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Ceramic Production

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

The growth [illegible] Song China was accompanied by [illegible]

[illegible] below the [illegible] of the capitals to [illegible] or serve as guides for [illegible]

[illegible] specialty [illegible]

[illegible] luxury goods [illegible] [illegible] Song. A [illegible] by Chang Yu. They reflect a city culture dominated by commerce, knowledgeable about [illegible] [illegible] products [illegible] [illegible] of more than 1 million.

Scenes of Hangzhou markets

[illegible] from the [illegible] all the [illegible] of the world [illegible] be gathered here. With the exception of [illegible] front of the gate [illegible] as during the day. The [illegible]

Teahouses

[illegible]

The Three Teachings

[illegible]

The Four Departments and Six Offices

[illegible]

[illegible]

- the shape of a [illegible]
- a full-bodied sculpture [illegible] for the [illegible] patterns on the [illegible] as [illegible] and [illegible] clothing [illegible] in keeping with the substitutes of other

serves as a stopper which the vessel is upright and a lever connects external to the spout in the form of an open-mouthed mother lion suckling her cub and the handle in the form of a lotus stalk and petal. Taste and market forces were at work as much as design innovations. The Sanchong wares were probably made as much as possible could to suit the new prestigious Tao wares of the late Tang and Five Dynasties periods. see page 214. [illegible] noted the [illegible] to imitation but concluded the Sanchong wares which [illegible] only for [illegible] because of their [illegible] and [illegible].

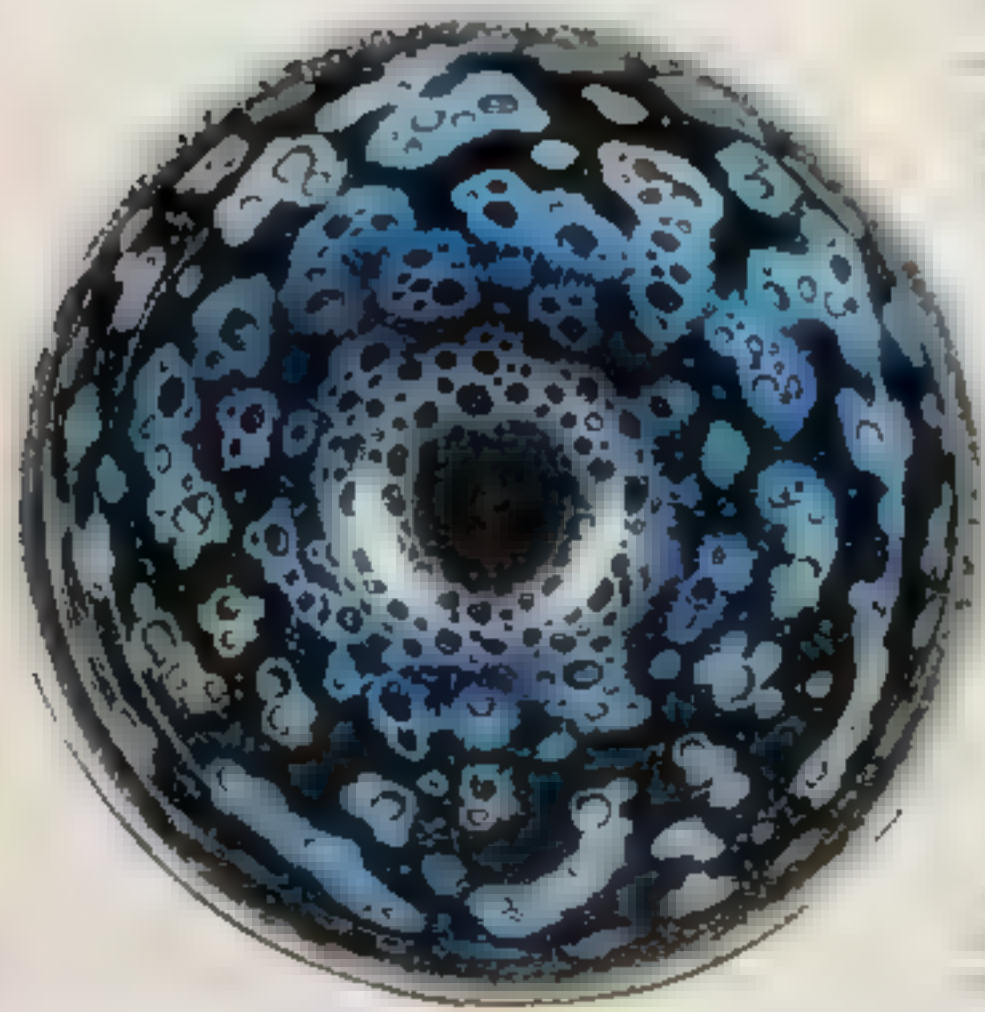
SOCIAL COORDINATES OF STYLE AND TASTE

As Song society became more [illegible] and differentiated, the complexity of social roles and status increased. Along with technical innovations, another social [illegible] was the [illegible] of the interests, tastes, and consumption patterns of both the producers and consumers of art. These could be [illegible] as well as personal [illegible] audiences and markets, depending on the [illegible] of [illegible] and [illegible] of various media. Not every social group is represented in the art record for every [illegible] of course, some have a [illegible] such as gold and silver, and others such as certain kinds of wall graphics and [illegible] based on the tastes of select groups defined by wealth, status, or cultural information. In general, the most important groups in terms of patronage and taste included the imperial family and associates, including the courts of the semi-nomadic regimes to the north; scholar officials; a less well defined group of prosperous merchants and land owners, ranging down to a kind of middle class of well-to-do shopkeepers and craftsmen; and Buddhist and Daoist religious institutions. Laborers, servants, small farmers, and peasants comprised the vast majority of the population in this as in other periods, but they left little documentation of their tastes and patterns of consumption, which were probably limited largely to textiles, low-grade ceramics, and mass-produced utensils. We should not underestimate, however, the level of mutual awareness of taste and quality between different social groups particularly in urban settings, or the possibilities for consumption of the objects of more prestigious classes.

Style and taste in art objects could serve as a marker of status and wealth, but as with other [illegible] interests, it could also [illegible] moral qualities. The imperial family and [illegible] aristocratic families commonly [illegible] patronage of rather conservative [illegible] emphasizing continuity with the most prestigious materials, [illegible] the highest levels of technical [illegible] craftsmanship, and refined design. [illegible] of the logics of art history are a kind of moral science. Computers [illegible] periods, however. Song court taste was [illegible] to many goods and [illegible] and [illegible] with displays of refinement and high culture, features but [illegible] of the [illegible] of scholarly [illegible] in court [illegible].

Educated scholar officials were particularly [illegible] to use objects of [illegible] to express their [illegible] in both family rituals [illegible] and public urban [illegible] below. As a [illegible] of newly important power and [illegible] group in the Song, scholar officials were highly conscious of belonging to the [illegible] sets and status in which they were called to [illegible] as much as in political and economic terms. As with other elite cultural movements, the highly educated [illegible] in new and [illegible] ways [illegible] values, rejecting decorative and [illegible] technical skill, [illegible] appeal to sentiment or emotion. The values that they promoted [illegible] spontaneity, [illegible] and [illegible] conveyed ethical positions of character, traits as much as pleasing aesthetic values, avoidance of [illegible] calculation, [illegible] restrictions of [illegible].

The taste of the well-to-do and muscle [illegible] is more difficult to characterize. They seem to have favored decorative and functional objects that emulated some of the qualities of high-status court art, but in forms that manifested strong design, direct impact, and accessible subject matter and meaning. Religious art for Buddhist and Daoist institutions and audiences included dynastic and



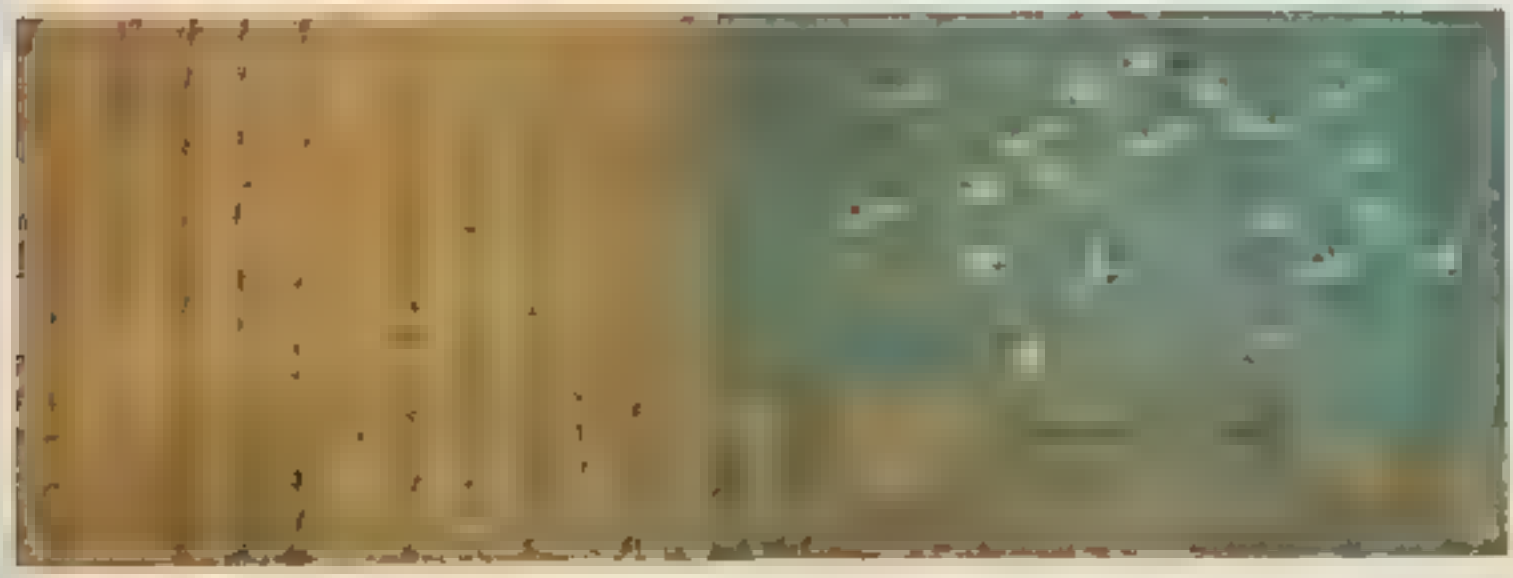
7.13 Li Gonglin (c. 1049–1106). Illustrated Classic of Filial Piety
Northern Sung (960–1126)

◀ 7.12 Ma Yuan, The Emperor's Procession

dignified ranks of the emperors officials and guardsmen above. Each figure and element is rendered carefully in ink line and color and even the great pine tree that arches over like a protective canopy is shaped by the same taste for precision and elegance. The village is a formal note, the representation of a pastoral platform for court ceremony which elevates [illegible] carefully observed distinctions of high [illegible] rank.

The *Illustrated Classic of Filial Piety* was painted [illegible] by the [illegible] scholar-official Li Gonglin. The text was a Confucian classic which [illegible] ruled by [illegible] opinions but some of the values of social [illegible] and order it promoted. While the tone of the painting is not far from that of the [illegible] the Emperor, the presentation of the series in a reserved palm-and-ink style with a minimum of ethnic elements speaks to very different tastes. The [illegible] accompanies a text passage about filial piety in medical and political relationships exemplified by a younger [illegible] having to rise for his brother. The figures are modest and simple, drawn with an [illegible] and sketchy amateur-scholar quality. These are subtle [illegible] that he was an accomplished [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] associated with the old, his pointed and [illegible] [illegible] such as simplicity and [illegible] While the text has an [illegible] than a moral content, the focus on isolated [illegible] and [illegible] detailed observation and elaborate [illegible] [illegible] dramatic [illegible] effects [illegible] of poetry. The weathered garden rock and bamboo [illegible] a minimal setting, but they are also [illegible] of [illegible] themes symbolic of strength in adversity with a close sheltering relationship here that parallels that of the brothers.

Sets of scroll paintings produced in the southeastern province of Sichuan in the late twelfth century depicting *The Kings of Hell* are very far from the elegant refinements of court painting or the poetic sensitivities of scholar–official artists. These were commercial pictures produced in sets with the aid of [illegible] at monasteries [illegible] pious [illegible]. The artist who signed the [illegible] was his master of a workshop known for its kind of product. Each picture in the set [illegible] the same pattern of a single king of hell seated in a garden in front [illegible] screen and behind a [illegible] [illegible] earlier version. Attendants place a [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] punishment. The [illegible] are thus concerned with [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] money. The graphic images of torture, the grotesque faces of the [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] colors that dominate the pictures are part of a style for diverse [illegible] [illegible] violence that is rarely seen outside the realms of popular religious art. In this scene, the condemned sinner is made to witness his own crime, the murder of a monk on a boat, in a magic mirror, the [illegible] reflects the past before being flayed by swords from



我見黃河水
凡經幾度清
水流如激箭
人世多浮萍
癡屬根本
業愛為煩惱

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

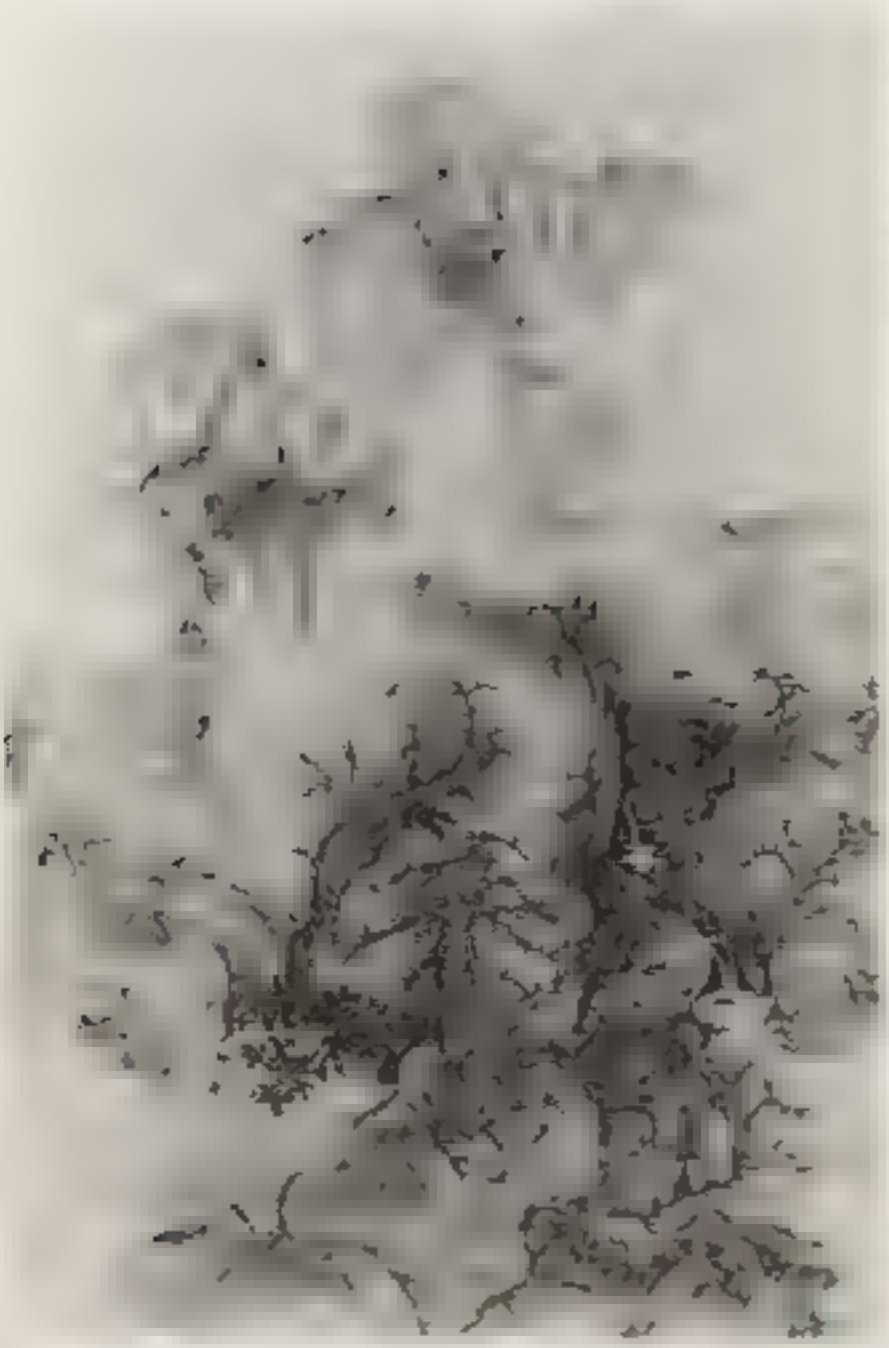
[illegible]

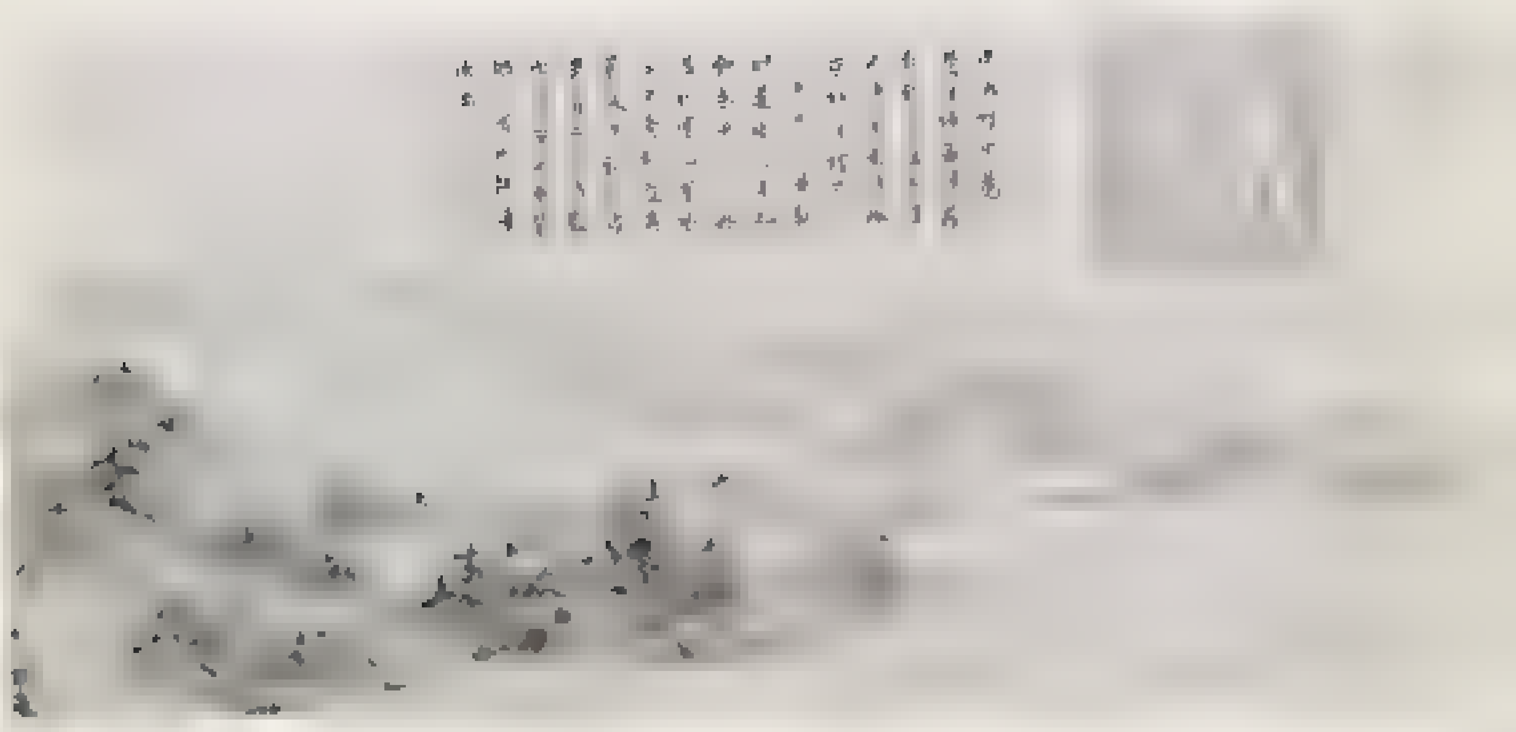
7.19 Ian Knauf, c. 1965–1980: French [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]





7.22 Master Li (12th century), *Dream Journey on the Xiao and Xiang Rivers*

Southern Song dynasty, [illegible]

[illegible]

difficult passes, and a rustic [illegible] and a sense of landscape as a site for habitation, pr[illegible] visits, and enjoyment. The dwellings, rocks, cliffs, and figures have a vivid particularity of structure, texture, color, and spatial location. In the section illustrated, a long [illegible] at the lower [illegible] is an impressive waterfall cascading in transparent ribbons into a broad pool below. Another passage of the scroll [illegible] exemplifies the geomantic advice [illegible] an estate with mountains [illegible] water below, with a fisherman exploring [illegible]

Another style of late Song landscape dispenses almost entirely with linear drawing in favor of graded washes and atmospheric effects. Unlike earlier Song landscapes that emphasized the distance of the viewer from monumental mountains, late Song landscapes often draw the viewer into the scene, where an internal distance of vaguely defined vistas encourages a perceptual or contemplative absorption. A superb example is the handscroll *Dream Journey on the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* (fig. 7.22) by the otherwise unidentified Master Li, from around 1170. The subject of the Xiao and Xiang rivers was a specifically southern one, referring to a region in Hunan Province famous for misty scenery and linked with old mythologies of river spirits and nymphs, and to more recent poetic themes evocative of tragic transient moments. In the late Song, Chan [illegible] eight views of the [illegible] became popular in Chan Buddhist painting and poetry [illegible] the unconventional. The scroll was painted by a [illegible] who [illegible] never having visited the Xiao and Xiang region, bringing memories of travels and using his painting to compose an imaginary journey. In the Dream Journey [illegible]

[illegible] of representational [illegible] virtually disappears along with nearly all [illegible] in the painting. The subtlety of [illegible] is impossible to convey in reproduction, but the image conjures a series of [illegible] masses with a nearly phantasmagoric [illegible] atmosphere. The evocation of an intense psychological absorption on the part of the viewer, whose imagination and even active participation is required to make sense of the image, is a widespread feature of later Song landscapes. This quality is remarked on in a colophon on the scroll written by a contemporary of the artist, a Chan priest: "People of the past could see painting in a collapsed wall. It is not that a collapsed wall can paint; it is how the viewer's mind meets with it, and a painting emerges." (Fong, *Images of the Mind*, p. 380)

Because landscape, unlike such genres as historical or religious figure painting, came

with so few preestablished meanings, it could be a vehicle for sign[illegible] as diverse as the multiple social environments of the Song era. Large landscapes could be broadly recognized in the sense of the [illegible] new [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] a general [illegible] as a political in terms of representation of governance states of authority [illegible] present [illegible] views of the [illegible] geology and weather [illegible] regard to [illegible] and education [illegible] which theories of psychology [illegible] Song [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

C L T R S OF A S

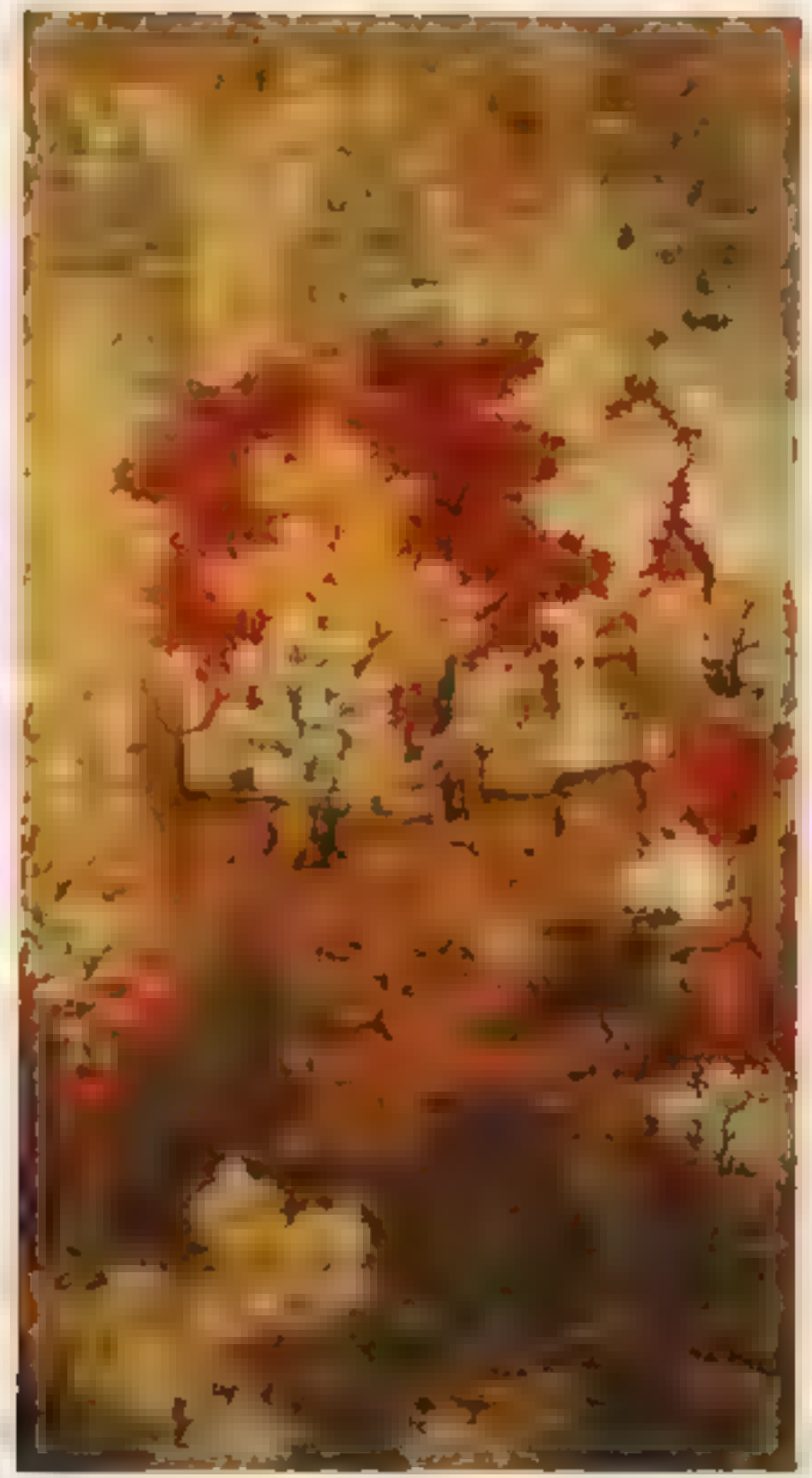
Technologies, materials, and procedures used in the [illegible] could all be [illegible] [illegible] more specific [illegible] empowered [illegible] context [illegible] create other anthropologically distinct contexts [illegible] subcultures such as those based on [illegible] gender or religious practice. All [illegible] term [illegible] powerfully during the Song era. Ethnically and linguistically distinct cultures of the [illegible] and the Jurchen Jin regimes were in direct competition with the Chinese court and society of the Song. Literary men guided by [illegible] and [illegible] writing, making calligraphy and problems of the poetry-painting relationship prominent [illegible] the agendas of the [illegible] cultures at the ruling courts or among women or within the Buddhist community guided distinctive modes of production.

Court Cultures

The ruling courts of various Song-era regimes continued, as in earlier times, to be the major centers of artistic patronage. They employed court [illegible] and craftsmen in various versions of bureau[illegible] the [illegible] through direct commissions, political or religious, and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] a part [illegible]

The Southern Tang [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of the Tang [illegible] refugees from the Tang [illegible] [illegible] and his contribution to professional sophistication [illegible] role in the shaping of painting projects by the Southern Tang courts is indicated by the [illegible] era the Night Revels of Han Xizai [illegible] attributed to Gu Hongzhong [illegible] various [illegible] painting [illegible] the Southern Tang [illegible] in order to detect [illegible] The most [illegible] accounts [illegible] may be an early [illegible] high-quality copy of a tenth-century original. The host Han Xizai appears in each of the [illegible] portrayed in a variety of costumes and activities, including seated cross-legged and bare to the waist [illegible] an upright [illegible] identifiable by his [illegible] tall cap and heavy-lidded, fleshy face. Sensual and sexual indulgence is the pervasive theme of the painting, though presented with considerable subtlety. The tables are piled with wine and delicacies in ceramic and lacquer containers [illegible] ing tastes, smells, and textures. A female lutanist is the object of rapt and interested gazes from Han and other guests. The diminutive figure in blue

[illegible]



[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

were [illegible] during his reign, and the emphasis on [illegible] the process of [illegible] into pictures [illegible] (see page 200). The emperor's own calligraphy (see fig. [illegible]) [illegible] a formalistic approach [illegible] sharp strokes. The paintings have a [illegible]

[illegible] reflect [illegible] their refined shapes [illegible]

Cranes Above Kaifeng (see fig. 7.33) is the best known of many paintings attributed to Huizong that may have employed the talents of his court artists. It was one of a large series of works commemorating auspicious phenomena that were thought to manifest heaven's approval of his reign. The few paintings of the series which survive embody a realism which is oriented toward documenting and preserving the magical effects of the events. The image of cranes wheeling in the [illegible] cites a particular occasion in the winter of the year 1112 when the birds, associated with wisdom and long life, appeared along with auspicious cloud effects, probably to accompany the performance of palace music and the celebrations of the Lantern Festival. The cut-off composition, which hints at but does not overtly depict the scale and splendor of the palace ceremony below, is consistent with the aesthetic criteria of Huizong's court. Favor-ing [illegible]

[illegible] of the [illegible] to improve the [illegible] of the dynasty [illegible] the production of these pictures.

Huizong and his [illegible] emperor, along with [illegible] and other members of the imperial court, were captured by the Jurchen invaders after the fall of Kaifeng. Huizong's [illegible] established a temporary capital at Hangzhou [illegible]

emperor Gaozong (r. 1127–1162). Gaozong had a living rival claimant to the Song throne [illegible] The Southern Song was under more or less constant military pressure from the Jin, and after 1235 from the Mongols [illegible] from the southern regime in exchange for peace.

The Jin (1115–1234) rulers were also patrons of [illegible] culture, producing substantial achievements in belles lettres, painting, and calligraphy that followed late Northern Song scholar-official approaches. In many respects the Jin were conquerors [illegible] and preservers of the heartland [illegible] including [illegible] landscape and [illegible] practice as well as [illegible] major imperial collections of painting and calligraphy. The Jin maintained vestiges of the imperial academy's traditions for painting and

[illegible] Kesh [illegible]

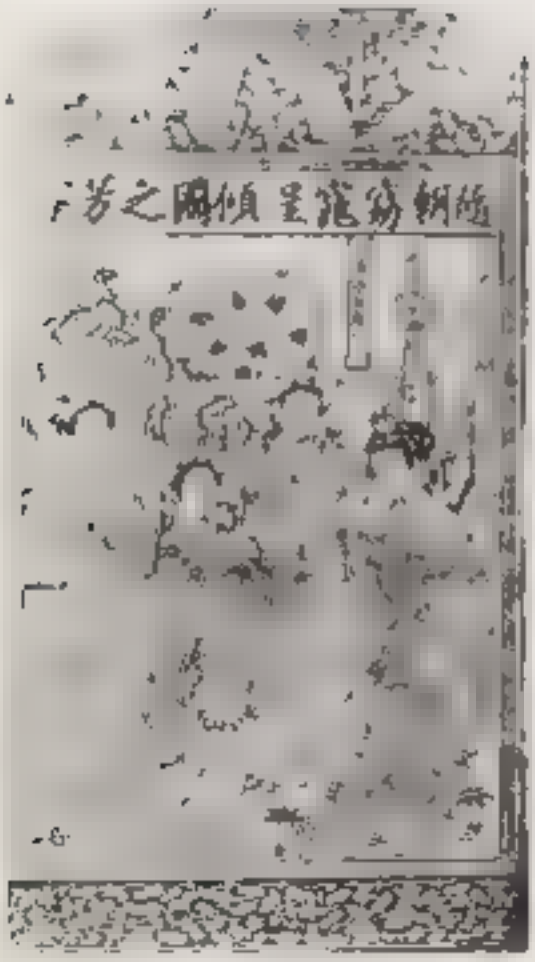
[illegible] past [illegible] Southern Song [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] attempts to [illegible] Song [illegible] pictorial [illegible] gong, or rule the Song, in a combination of myth, history and propaganda [illegible] while [illegible] the [illegible] at the head [illegible] military expedition to rescue his elder brother [illegible] the throne that his brother [illegible] him [illegible] as a sign of legitimate succession. [illegible] the Emperor of Wangcun village [illegible] Southern Song court painting that [illegible] themes of restoration and [illegible]

Women's Culture

Unlike such well established genres as landscape, religious figures, and symbolic plants and animals, there was little specific recognition given to images of women in Song writing about art. This seems in some ways a deliberate act of exclusion, because images of women are widespread

[illegible] palace [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] power that might [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] surviving New Year's prints [illegible] produced in the late [illegible] prints. The [illegible] the image imitates a scroll painting [illegible] such prints were meant for wide distribution and [illegible] garden, each identified by a written [illegible] were talented women from the period around the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220) who met tragic [illegible] at their own or others' hands. The image



[illegible]

3. Song-period tomb at Xi'an, Shaanxi, at Baoxita

4. Sui-period [illegible] Mountain Pavilion in Xi'an

[illegible] of the imperial family [illegible] the [illegible] taste. The [illegible] which [illegible]

[illegible] a new [illegible] be viewed [illegible]

[illegible] painter Ma Yuan [illegible] Empress Yang [illegible] Ma [illegible] paintings. The poem [illegible] in the emperor's presence

> Brushed [illegible] the [illegible]
> [illegible] the wind
> [illegible]

Empress Yang [illegible] in other works by Ma Yuan [illegible] Apricot Blossoms [illegible] the subject [illegible] and the poet [illegible] painting serve as a vehicle for courtly communication [illegible] Ma Yuan [illegible] composition here [illegible] that [illegible] Empress Yang's poem:

> [illegible]
> [illegible]

Literary Culture and the Arts

Elite literary culture was engaged with the arts during the Song period in two major areas.

7.34 Ma Yuan (c. 1160– [illegible]

First, there was an unprecedentedly large and diverse body of writing about the arts: painting, calligraphy, architecture, and antiquities. This [illegible] on [illegible] and treatises [illegible] connoisseurship, archaeology, and technique [illegible] colophons [illegible] calligraphy [illegible]

[illegible] and [illegible] of figures [illegible] that structure the history and criticism of Chinese art [illegible] includes many categories of writing that existed in the Northern and Southern Dynasties and the Tang, such as histories and catalogues of painting, biographies and critical assessments of artists, theoretical treatises on

Painting Formats and Materials

Almost all the [illegible] painting were in use by the Song [illegible]. These display the diversity of [illegible] [illegible] as well as the [illegible] status and functions of paintings as [illegible] objects.

Wall paintings, whether in tombs or in above-ground settings such as Buddhist [illegible] temples or government offices, [illegible] dating back [illegible] the Han period (206 [illegible] 220 [illegible]). These were typically large-scale works painted on prepared surfaces of clay, whitewashed and sized with glue or alum rather than a wet fresco technique. Favored subjects included religious narratives, [illegible] auspicious scenes for funerary contexts, or [illegible] (see Tex. 4.1 and 6.1b above). [illegible] some of the most celebrated artists through the Tang period and into the Song, but after the Song period wall [illegible] province of lesser-known specialists.

Screen paintings were [illegible] oration. Chinese painted screens were [illegible] self-supporting wooden stands, but the multipanel hinged screen was also used. The painting surface could be either silk [illegible] to divide interior spaces and to demarcate areas of special status [illegible] as well as wind protection [illegible]

[illegible] 8 and 7. [illegible]

[illegible] long history and [illegible] [illegible] (see [illegible] 5.2 above and [illegible] 7.16 below). The textual embellishment of horizontal scroll paintings can be seen in the common practice of providing [illegible] from speeches [illegible] in the painted section, and [illegible] end of the painting. Physically, handscrolls [illegible] between [illegible] paper sheets and framed with silk brocade, with a thick [illegible] as a roller. The height of the scroll [illegible] of over 5 [illegible] cm, and the length from [illegible] hundred [illegible] viewers [illegible] [illegible] provided [illegible] a dimension of time into the viewing [illegible] subjects: panoramic [illegible] series of episodic figural themes. [illegible] format seems to have [illegible]

[illegible] ly. They were [illegible] backing and framing [illegible] hanging scroll. Hanging scrolls and [illegible] depending [illegible] were hung and viewed only temporarily on specific occasions such as the days [illegible] appropriate season [illegible] (see [illegible] 8.5 below).

Paintings [illegible] ings, and these continued in use in later [illegible] (see [illegible] 3 above), mounted in book-like formats. Square or rectangular album leaves were also used, mostly [illegible] leaves are generally small in size and intimate in effect, meant for close-up view. [illegible] Fan-shaped leaves in particular may [illegible] adornment. The [illegible] shaped folding fan format was an import from Japan that [illegible] Ming period (1368–1644). The traditional album devoted to a single theme was [illegible] Other formats included small paintings [illegible]

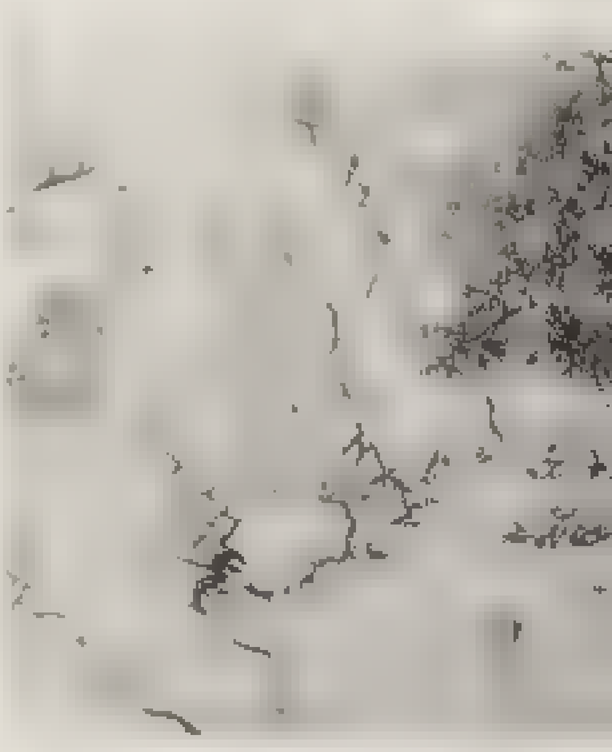
in the context of the persistent Chinese cultural practices of venerating the past, this even-handed treatment may be seen as a bold claim for the place and distinctiveness of contemporary art. The more major genres identified were both primary areas of accomplishment at the time and subjects of increased cultural importance. Landscapes (woods and rocks) were topics of potent [illegible] due to [illegible] among Song literary men. Flowers and grasses such as bamboo were staple symbols of interest to poets, while birds and fishes were of interest in court painting. The passage thus implies other important concerns of Song art discourse: categorization by genre and the social contexts of painting subjects.

Genre categorization. The early twelfth-century imperial painting catalogue Xuanhe huapu was the first to be organized by genre categories, but other texts from the period refer to subject specialties and categories. Genre groups are one way of organizing experiences of the world, and the list of genres in the Xuanhe catalogue is accompanied by explanations of the larger cultural values and associations of each subject.

Social contexts of art and the promotion of scholar-official values. Song writers on art are aware of the social status of artists and the social contexts of specific genres. The promotion of the values of educated artists in several texts may have been in part a by-product of the authorship of most art texts by educated gentlemen and scholar-officials. However, it also reflects the importance of educated artists and critics in the art world in general and the infiltration of their interests and values into court circles. Art thus became, even more strongly than in the past, an arena of social competition.

The debate over form-likeness. The most famous formulation of an attitude denigrating mere form-likeness or illusionism in painting is attributed to the poet-official Su Shi (1037–1101), who noted that "If anyone discusses painting in terms of formal likeness, his understanding is close to that of a child" (Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, p. 224). This position suggests a sophistication in taste and standards not unlike that of modernist movements in the West, when skillful illusionistic rendering was deemed uninteresting and in some ways aesthetically naive. The debate also implies a contest of values between social groups. Su Shi belonged to a conservative faction of scholar-officials; his opponents were the court academicians and technocrat officials who patronized a more technically skilled, decorative, and illusionistic kind of painting. The alternative offered by the scholar-officials emphasized inner qualities of naturalness, lack of artifice, and something akin to the natural purity of water: "blandness." This also echoes the opposition in [illegible] texts on painting (see page 246 above) between inner substance and external appearance or ornamentation. Underlying all of these [illegible] were [illegible] about the relative value of ornamentation and rhetorical artifice as against the plain substance of meaning.

The Song debates about form-likeness were thus ultimately as much about politics and ethics as they were about aesthetics. The most readily found alternative to the values of illusionistic painting was in the realm of literature, and specifically poetry. Poetry was a non-representational art, and only a



[illegible] skill was the province of the scholar-[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Poem Painting

[illegible]

[illegible] the ancient [illegible] In [illegible] poetry the most prestigious [illegible] painting and painters. The establishment of painting academies at court under Emperor Huizong in the early twelfth century [illegible] painters was another important component of [illegible] the [illegible] Song court.

[illegible] the [illegible] poetry [illegible] poetry was a [illegible] painting and [illegible] the [illegible] Song court.

7. Mi Yuan Zhongshang [illegible] twelfth [illegible] century. Illustration of Second Prose Poem on the Red Cliff.

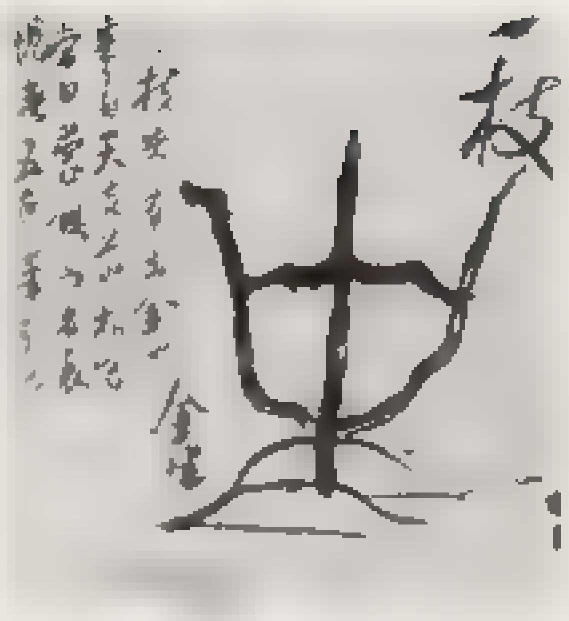
Training and Examination of Court Artists

wash and repetitive horizontal ink dabs. The aesthetic of the incomplete functions in both works and in many other kinds of Song poetic painting (see figs. 7.22 and 7.[illegible]), allowing the viewer [illegible] to [illegible] completing the [illegible] image [illegible] drawing.

[illegible] resonant depth and implication [illegible] suggests the approach to poetry suggested by [illegible] the Song [illegible]. A good poem seems to be like [illegible] in that an [illegible] of dissipation [illegible] W[illegible] ideas barely suggested are limitless [illegible]. This [illegible] allusion [illegible] painting (p. 44).

Another [illegible] this array of Song devices [illegible] ing poetry and painting [illegible] specific [illegible] literature [illegible] and an accompanying range of meanings. The "Three Friends of Winter"—pine, apricot (plum), and bamboo—are of this sort, with associations ranging from the scholarly to the sexual, but with a core significance in analogies to human character: flourishing in adversity, strength, and persistence. In Wang Tingyun's *Old Tree and Bamboo* (see fig. 7.27 above), the closely related symbolic associations are [illegible] in a pictorial rendering that seems to preserve a direct link between the idea, the process, and the image. This belongs to the aesthetic of painting as a spontaneous "mind-print," a theory of painting and calligraphy as direct self-expression in the manner of personal

Calligraphy from the same circle of [illegible] could embody qualities of spontaneity and [illegible] as [illegible] Huang Tingjian's writing (see fig. 7.[illegible]), for example, suggests not only an improvisatory process of continuous adjustment but a possible reading in terms of somatic, or bodily, effects. His large [illegible] characters isolate the kinesthetic movements of individual stroke formations. Moreover, the construction of characters primarily in terms of qualities of dynamic balance, extension, and enclosure suggest aspects of the body metaphorically. The collector and art historian Mi Fu more fully engages the interplay of calligraphic text and pictorial



7.37 Mi Fu [illegible] *Letter About a Coral Tree* [illegible]

image. His *Letter About a Coral Tree* (fig. 7.37) includes a sketch of a three-pronged coral branch set on a metal stand that seems consciously to reenact the rhythms of his framing calligraphy. The easy flow of his calligraphic text, while disregarding consistent structure in characters that bulge and hollow, swell and thin by turns, conveys an air of effortless naturalness.

The most explicit statements about poetic painting in the Song appear not among the scholar-officials, but instead in the [illegible] of the late Northern Song court, when under Emperor Huizong lines from poetry [illegible] were used as test problems for prospective [illegible] [illegible] As [illegible] recorded by later Song writers (see [illegible] and [illegible] Atlas, page [illegible]), a line [illegible] of compressed poetry that the painters competed to illustrate [illegible] were aimed first at encouraging [illegible] scholarly and [illegible] among artists. Painters had to [illegible] the nuances of poetry first, and conceptual [illegible] seems to have weighed more in the competition than painting skill. The few examples that are given suggest that the qualities prized included indirection or partial suggestion of a theme rather than full illustration. The "poetic" quality of such paintings lay in their capacity to suggest something in the way of situation or mood beyond the depicted forms. In this sense poetic painting at court was

similar to some studies of Indian painters. However, surviving works of court painting, both his period, indicate a taste for decorative and technically accomplished work, detail, however, and [illegible] the mode, rendering [illegible] 7.15 above.

Later in the Southern Song, court paintings were often accompanied by poems in couplets or quatrains, which were in the hands of members of [illegible] 7.13 above). In these cases the function of poetic paintings seems to have been as a kind of credit, indicating personal communication between members of the court. The subjects of indirect [illegible] the poem [illegible] also [illegible] in poetry, using the conventional or symbolic associations of Buddhism, [illegible] to express human longing, the anchorite's religious or [illegible] enlightenment, or the fragile, delicate blossoms of the spiritual state [illegible] for the [illegible] of a [illegible] 7.14 above.

Buddhist Architecture

7.16 Reconstruction of the Iron Pagoda of the Kaifeng Buddhist Association, 1049

Despite the large-scale suppression of Buddhism in the late Tang dynasty, which [illegible] of monasteries and [illegible] of the [illegible] of metrics and [illegible] Buddhism flourished in a variety of forms throughout the Song era. While Buddhism lost in terms of political sponsorship and patronage from the court, it made up for it in trends toward popularization and humanization. In addition, terms the tenth and tenth centuries of the late Tang through early Song were periods of great vitality and innovation in Buddhist arts. Many of the iconographic

the majestic and advanced Buddha pantheons and paradises of earlier times. The bodhisattva Guanyin, for example, embodies the virtue of compassion and is often depicted as a feminine figure and in informal settings and poses. Luohan, or disciples of the Buddha, might be shown as outlandish eccentrics, but they were also shown in very mundane settings, performing actions as mundane as washing laundry. Even the kings of hell were [illegible] 7.14 above) despite the ferocity of their demeanor and grotesque nature, of their punishments reflect the familiarity of the real world bureaucracy. Similarly, the most prominent Buddhist sects in the Song, [illegible] by Pure Land with its popular appeal of a promised rebirth in [illegible] and Chan sect with strong ties to secular [illegible] Confucian [illegible] were important components of this trend in Buddhist arts.

Architecture

A number of important Song [illegible] Buddhist [illegible] survive, mostly from the regions of [illegible] Song and Liao [illegible] Buddhas Pagoda Temple at Yingxian [illegible] 7.16 [illegible] 7.16 above). Despite the massive scale [illegible] and four more windows [illegible] stories, making a total of nine, some structural innovations made the interior space of the pagoda more accessible for worship [illegible] 7.16). In place of the central columns of earlier [illegible] the columns here are arranged in two concentric rings in an octagonal plan, leaving a central space for Buddha images on all five levels, with the space between the columns rings and the [illegible] of wooden [illegible]. A [illegible] of the columns from floor to floor, adding both to the impression of height and to the structural stability of the pagoda, relieves the heaviness of the structure. Some 98 feet (30 m) in diameter at the base, The mid-eleventh-century Mani Hall at the Longxing Temple (see Fig. 7.6 above) represents another trend in Song Buddhist architecture, with its light profile and complex rooflines.

7-41 Zhang Shengwen [illegible] **century) *The Long Roll* of an Official** [illegible] Southern Song [illegible] Palace Museum, Taipei

Iconography of Buddhist [illegible] Southern Song era painting with a view of the local

Illustration of homage to the [illegible] Southwest. Narrative [illegible]

Vajra Bridge of Precious [illegible]

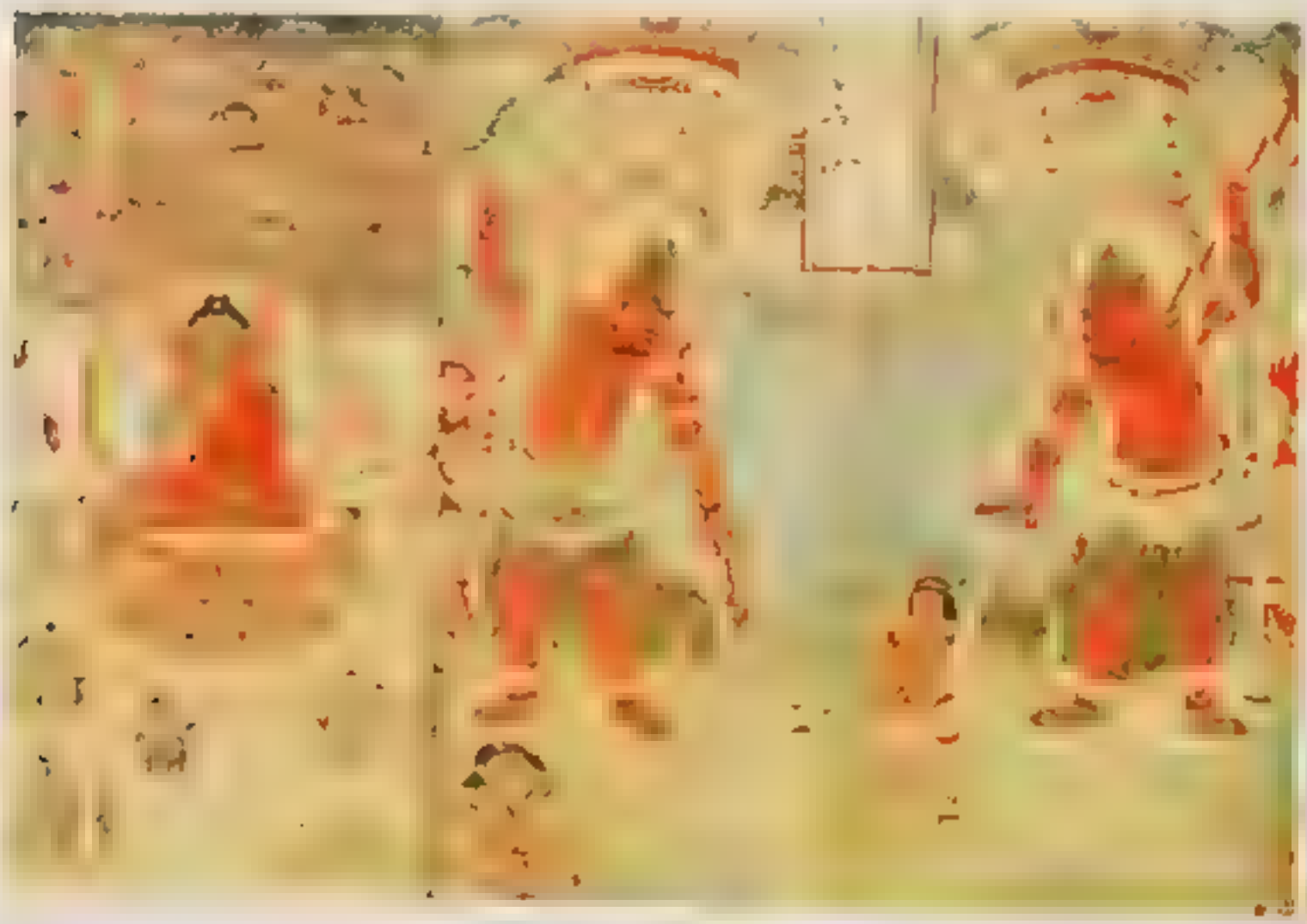
explicitly feminine, as characteristically grace-

more with one leg raised to [illegible] resting, in one supporting arm, suggests momentary rest rather than a firm stability and the drapes carved, folded, and swirling drapery adds to the impression of a being who inhabits the same realm as the human viewer. The rocky platform [illegible] located within this world.

Song Buddhist Iconographics

[illegible]

iconography as the *Long Roll of Buddhist Image* (fig. 7-41) painted by Zhang Shengwen between [illegible] which were focused on a talismanic palladium of a golden Nepalese-style image of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (Guanyin). This region was open to influences from many directions, however, including Nepal, Tibet, and China, and he was [illegible] would [illegible] 5 feet 16 inches in length and with 136 sections in its present form, offers a nearly encyclopedic illustration of contemporary Buddhist [illegible]. There are enthroned Buddhas on the [illegible] of various [illegible], along with [illegible] deities from Indian Buddhism, fierce protective beings with multiple visages and arms holding weapons. The patriarchs of Indian Buddhism are portrayed, as well as the Sixteen Great Luohan disciples of the historical Buddha. Most scenes are rendered in a precise but energetic outline and color style, with great attention to iconographic detail and completeness. Esoteric deities are given greater intensity of presence through brighter colors and stronger patterns. Imaginative and decorative details enliven narrative scenes such as



+ [illegible]

+ [illegible]

the Buddha's temptation just before his final enlightenment by the evil demon Mara. Maras demonic minions hover out of the dark clouds that shadow the serene and unmoved presence of the Buddha.

The revival of Indian imagery was especially prominent in Song-era Buddhist art, in part because these images were open to representations as wild, sometimes lunatic or grotesque figures and to a wide range of worldly rather than heavenly or cosmic settings. The sixteen great Indian were according to a Sanskrit text translated into Chinese in the 8th century disciples of the historical Buddha who had to have with the preservation of the Buddhist law until the arrival of the Buddha's successor in the future. They were endowed with transcendent powers of insight and knowledge. While Indian could be represented as ordinary monks their special powers were frequently emphasized along with their status as not much less perfected and they were often shown as the inhabitants of remote mountain caverns or secluded in exotic mountain [illegible]. Ceramic sculpture images of seated Indian from [illegible] close of the Northern Song period [illegible] both aspects (fig. 7.42). These life-size images have an almost uncanny presence with a strength and intensity in their faces that suggests a portrait-like intent related to a tradition of funerary effigies for Buddhist monks. The simplicity of carved rock on which the Indian are seated, the sensuous features for many such images, as with other powerful figures seem almost to have with their natural settings. The influential formulations of spiritual Indian by the ninth-tenth century monk-painter Guanxiu (832–912) are mostly of the latter type, based on visiting "the wild, [illegible] that appeared to him in dreams."

Whatever the origins of Indian imagery in realms of the exotic and the visionary, by the Late Song period they had become thoroughly domesticated and popularized. A series of five hundred Luohan depicted in a set of one hundred hanging scrolls produced in the coastal city of Ningbo over a span of ten years, starting in 1178, documents the process. The project was generated by the abbot of a nearby temple, with individual donors supplying funds for the production of as many as one scroll, at a time, often as offerings for the benefit of the soul of a deceased relative. The full set of images was displayed at the temple on anniversary, feast days and at special ceremonies. These were products of religious painting workshops that also supplied a market of Japanese Buddhist pilgrims and travelers. Images such as the Kings of the [illegible] (see fig. 7.14 above). Because these were functional religious paintings in popular styles, not much prized by later collectors and connoisseurs, such paintings were well preserved only in Japan. This series of five hundred Indian painted in 1178 by the professional Ningbo artists Zhou Jichang and Lin [illegible] was preserved in Japan at the Daitokuji Temple in Kyoto until early the twentieth century, when twelve of the one hundred scrolls went to the United States and still depict a group of five Indian engaged in some event of natural or supernatural performing a kind of [illegible] begging the hungry ghosts of warring [illegible] on a stream. In such [illegible] scenes are so embedded in vivid, detailed material settings as to take on a [illegible] life. The [illegible] houses colorful cliffs and energetic forms of trees and [illegible] an effect of extraordinary even a [illegible] on the stage of a fantastic world. One of the most [illegible] images [illegible] suggests an exotic kind of theatricality (fig. 7.43). One of the Indian poses as the Eleven-Headed Bodhisattva Guanyin by wearing a mask. In the lower corner is a full-length image of the process of representation in the form of an artist, very likely a self-portrait of the painter of the scroll, holding a paper on which is traced the likeness of one of the masks. The painting is thus on [illegible] levels a convincing blend of a sensuously of a numinous manifestation and a sophisticated awareness of the artifice of representation in theater and painting, fully in keeping with the urban milieu of late Song China.

Chan Art

The best known Buddhist sect in the West is that of Chan (Japanese Zen). The Sanskrit term from which these names derive denotes meditation, and the search for direct personal enlightenment through meditative practices

remained an important part of Chan. Stories about the founder of Chan in China, the sixth-century Indian monk Bodhidharma, who is supposed to have meditated for years in front of a wall and to have torn off his eyelids in order to keep himself from falling asleep, suggest the intensity of self-discipline encouraged by Chan.

The sect's early history in the Tang period (618–907) was dominated by the rivalry between proponents of gradual versus sudden paths to enlightenment. By the late eighth century the sudden enlightenment camp, which emphasized spontaneous, intuitive insight and direct, unmediated transmission [illegible] spiritually and intellectually [illegible]. The lore of Chan [illegible] Chan eccentrics who [illegible] possessed full enlightenment. The dialogs [illegible] religious problems to be worked through [illegible] records of conversations between teachers and disciples emphasizing paradox and the unconventional [illegible] Daoism to the formation of Chan styles.

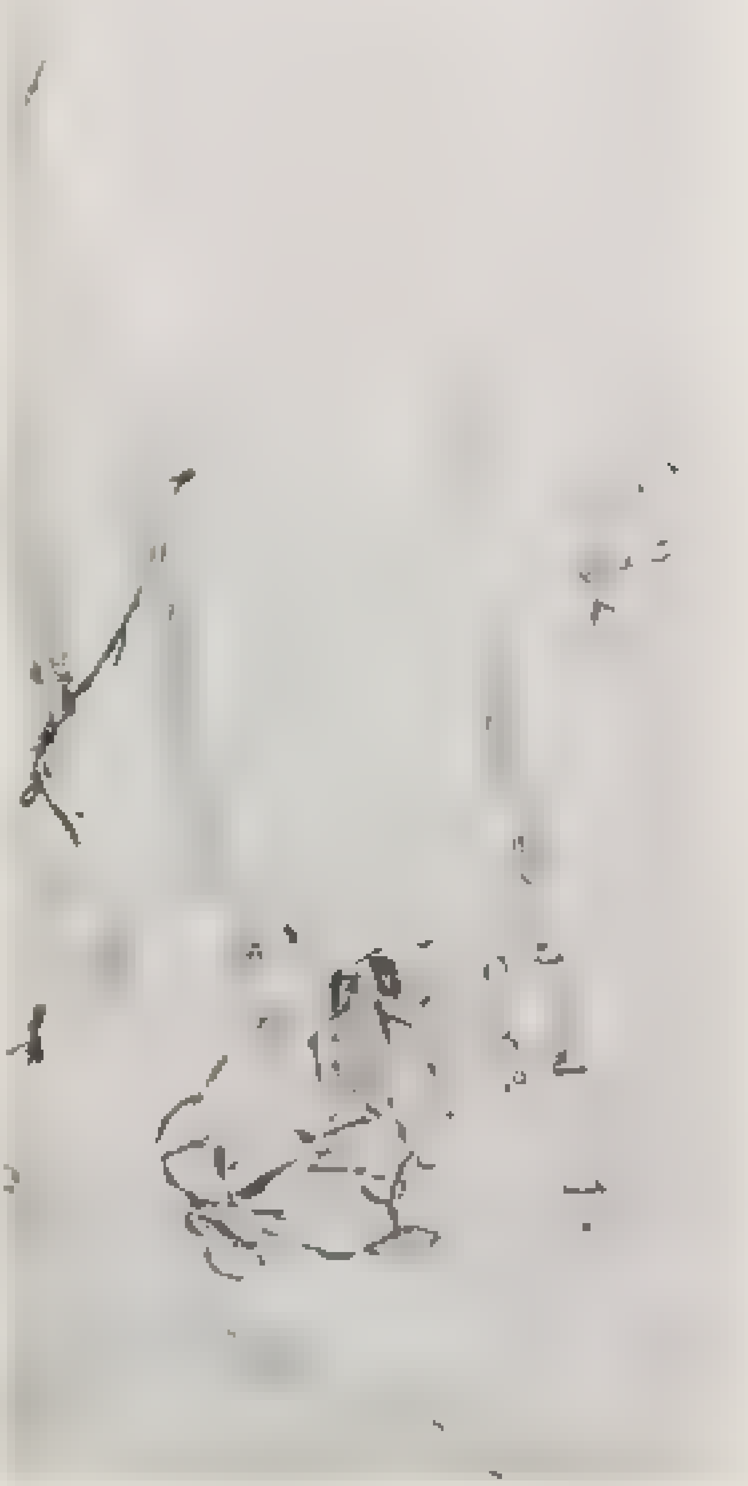
Despite its [illegible] and unconventional ideology, [illegible] Chan masters received [illegible] at court, where [illegible] disciplines were tolerated. In the Song, Chan had a complex [illegible] literature, consisting of [illegible] of monks' biographies, aphoristic teachings and recorded anecdotes of Chan encounters, with other Buddhist stories, as in such works as the Long Roll of Buddhist Images (see fig. 7.4[illegible] above), and with secular courtly and literary culture. While Chan art [illegible] by extreme abbreviation and dynamic performance in painting and calligraphy, many of its features were foreshadowed in the aesthetic approaches of scholar-officials and literary men. Other modes of Chan art, central to its religious practice, are solidly within styles familiar from different religious and even secular contexts. Included were the formal portrait images of Chan abbots, known as chinsō in Japan, where Chan flourished after its decline in China and where most surviving Chan art was preserved. In sculptural or painted form, these served as vivid effigies and commemorations of the presence of a revered teacher for his disciples. The painted portraits, when inscribed, may have served as a symbol of [illegible] transmission of authority from master to pupil, and [illegible] recall the [illegible] of direct master–disciple contact in Chan. In some, [illegible] belonging to the tradition of ancestral [illegible] other memorial portraiture, [illegible] great attention to [illegible] details of costume, furniture and religious accoutrements [illegible] the status and authority of the subject. The [illegible] (fig. 7.4[illegible]) [illegible] apprentice [illegible] of a monastery near the Southern Song capital, pays special attention to details of facial expression and body [illegible] volume [illegible] depicting of the facial features in an effort to convey the presence and [illegible] good humored [illegible] of the teacher.

Better-known Chan images are those depicting a diverse subject repertory [illegible] and expressive styles. The subjects include Chan eccentrics, holy men of uncouth aspect who [illegible] the idea of spiritual insight accessible in humble or unlikely contexts; Chan encounters [illegible] teaching lessons conveyed through conversation, often between Chan and Confucian figures; historical Chan patriarchs who received and transmitted the doctrines; and particular aspects of the historical Buddha and bodhisattvas. While the subjects are mostly distinctive, there appears to have been considerable [illegible] with other modes of Song painting, including court and literati art. [illegible] Chan monks and abbots associated with and wrote for contemporary poets, while Chan monk-painters painted secular subjects such as landscapes, flowers, and fruit in monochrome styles that are abbreviated and suggestive, but not dramatically more so than works of scholar-official painters (see fig. 7.2[illegible] above).

The career of Liang Kai exemplifies some of the complexity of Chan-affiliated art and artists in the Song period. He was appointed a court painter at the beginning of the thirteenth century but soon retired to a Chan monastery near the capital. His secular paintings include a broad range of figure-in-landscape compositions executed

in a suave, courtly style. Liang's 1204 painting of Sakyamuni Emerging from the Mountains (fig. 7.45) is signed as a member of the imperial painting academy and uses an accomplished representational technique to render the wintry atmosphere, the figure's garments, and wind-blown robes of Sakyamuni. The tone of the painting is [illegible]. [illegible], however, are very [illegible] from the religious [illegible] of those [illegible] prior to [illegible] on the historical Buddha Sakyamuni spent [illegible] as an ascetic seeking enlightenment before his attainment thereof [illegible]. Accounts of [illegible] the spirit that [illegible] his period of ascetic retreat. Liang Kai depicts a [illegible] Sakyamuni [illegible] from [illegible]. This emphasis on the humanity of Sakyamuni is in keeping with the Chan [illegible] among [illegible] individual [illegible] like any contemporary practitioner. He is [illegible] alized in Liang Kai's rendering, clearly Indian in his strong features, swarthy and hairy down to his feet, and withdrawn in his expression. This approach to representing the historical Buddha, direct and probably a bit shocking to contemporary viewers, is in keeping with Chan religious style, but the painting style is close to that of other late Song figure-in-landscape paintings from the environment of the court.

Another representative Chan subject by Liang Kai depicts the Sixth Chan Patriarch Chopping Bamboo (fig. 7.46), presumably a reference to the biography of Huineng, who supposedly achieved enlightenment while gathering firewood. The crude features and ambiguous expression of the portrait are consistent with Chan attitudes, finding the sacred in common things and activities, and asserting a paradoxical non-differentiation between the pre- and post-enlightenment view of the world. Most energetic are the strokes of the figure's drapery and the dynamic sweep of the brush that renders an ancient tree trunk. In effect, [illegible] effects of spontaneity and rough simplicity in Chan circles, but in the hands of an accomplished academy-trained painter such as Liang Kai these were surely calculated devices.



46 Liang Kai (active early 13th century), *Sixth Chan Patriarch Chopping Bamboo*
Southern Song [illegible] hanging scroll, ink on paper [illegible]
[illegible] Museum

[illegible] Mosque [illegible]
[illegible] Cairo and Mughal
[illegible]

[illegible] Dance is a
a case in point. The central

[illegible] normal pose as all in the white robed Avalokiteshvara [illegible] country [illegible] rocks [illegible] that represents the [illegible] abode of Mount Potalaka in the south [illegible] sea. The side panels—[illegible] in a [illegible] hands [illegible] grove and a monkey gibbon with its [illegible] image—may not have belonged with the central image originally but possibly were only arranged in this grouping after their removal to Japan. Nonetheless, the triptych is a historical [illegible] of both [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] and gibbon pictures is [illegible] [illegible] a blank [illegible] of the monkey gibbon [illegible] compounds any interpretation to have [illegible] suggests the [illegible] of the human [illegible]

OFFICIAL, PERSONAL AND URBAN ARTS OF THE YUAN TO MIDDLE MING

The [illegible] of the Mongols, who first displaced the [illegible] regime of the South Chinese Sung dynasty in the period from [illegible] to 1234 and completed their [illegible] of the Southern Sung, century [illegible] brought China into an international Mongol confederation. The Mongol regime in China, known variously as the Yuan, was the easternmost of four such empires that ruled most of the Asian land mass in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. As a group, these formed the largest land empire in the history of the world. They achieved their conquests with a ferocious savagery based, partly, on cultural and military technology developed in part from Chinese civilization, but also on [illegible] warfare and the use of artillery and firearms. They fought wars, campaigns against Baghdad (1257–1258) [illegible] that have pushed back the [illegible] Europe by [illegible] years. These all regimes provided unusual opportunities for travel and trade across Asia, including [illegible] for the Roman Pope to seek help against the Muslim conquerors of the Holy Lands, and merchant travelers such as the Venetian [illegible] Marco Polo (1254–1324). Polo's accounts of Chinese cities include exaggerations of fable and exaggeration, but his sense of the superiority of Chinese over contemporary European cities in matters of hygiene, comfort, and public administration is clear. The collapse of the system of Mongol confederated regimes in the fifteenth century with its infrastructure for long-distance trade and communications, including a mounted postal service, may have [illegible] the great age of maritime explorations that followed as sea routes were sought to replace the newly problematic land connections. In China, the Mongol Yuan regime fell to the native Chinese Ming in 1368. The Ming eunuch admiral Zheng He led several expeditions to Malaysia, the Indian coast, and as far as the horn of eastern Africa in the period from 1405 to 1433, some decades before the Portuguese and Spanish sought to reach the East Indies. The Chinese maritime explorations ended as a result of domestic military and political pressures, in keeping with a general policy of economic self-sufficiency. It was not the great age of the Chinese exploration of the Indian Ocean.

Combining the Yuan and early to mid-Ming periods, the years from [illegible] (1368–[illegible]) in this chapter emphasize the political, economic, and social processes over the importance of [illegible] [illegible] Chinese culture under the Ming and the political unity of the Ming dynasty. The [illegible] of this period in both [illegible] show [illegible] and continuity with the [illegible] in the Song. This was in part due to the disruption and destruction that accompanied the Mongol conquest and decades of disorder at the end of the Yuan period, but it was also a result of deliberate policy. The Mongol regime was more interested in exploiting the wealth of Chinese cities for taxation than in [illegible] the economy so

Fig. 4mm. Thangka with Vajrapani

[illegible]

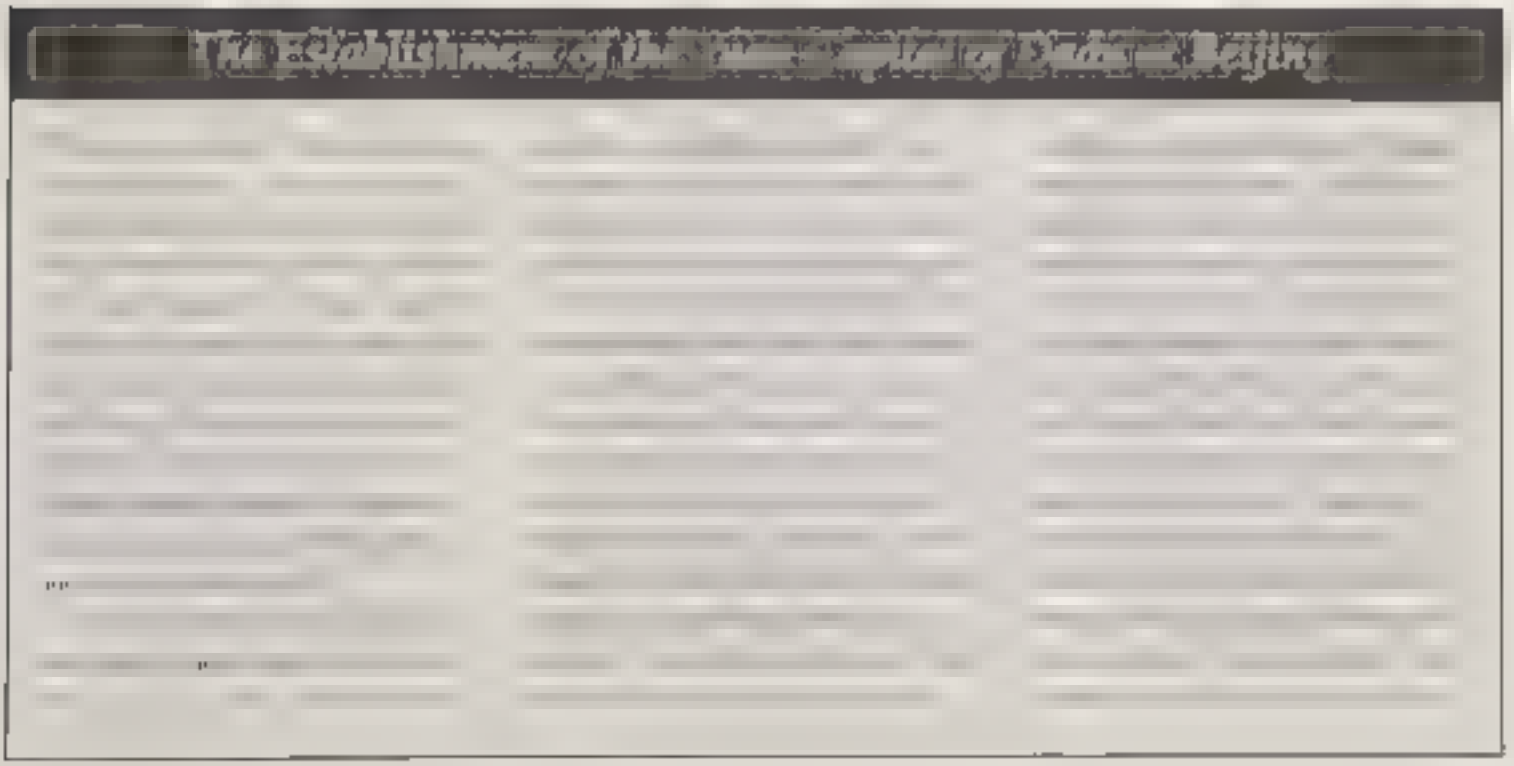
[illegible]

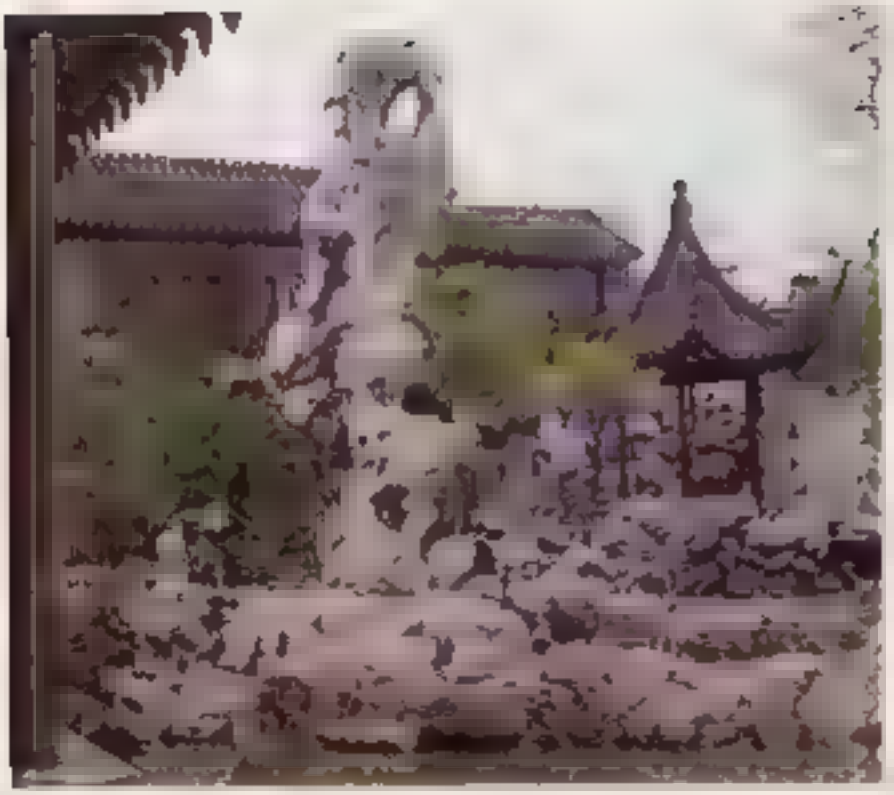
system, and even the opportunities for international trade opened by the pan-Asian Mongol regimes resulted only in extractions from China and an impoverishment of Chinese wealth. The first Ming emperor, himself of peasant background, established enclosing policies that favored farming over merchant activity. While the early Ming saw a brief flowering of international maritime exploration, and, like the Yuan and Ming regimes, withdrew from the maritime expansionism of the Song in favor of a much more limited trade routes of tributary shipments. This contraction was due in part to continuing internal challenges and also to problems with coastal naval piracy. Agricultural sectors flourished in the early Ming, with high-yield crops introduced and, for the first time, property rights put in place. Ideals of social retreat and the land-holding gentleman, which were as strongly upheld under Yuan and Ming patronage, as the men and objects for painters' lives, thus had some basis in larger political and economic trends. A revival of commerce and the renewed growth of urban centers emerged gradually in the early sixteenth century. Another factor at work in the Yuan through mid-to-Ming period was a growth of absolutist tendencies of rule and centralization of authority at court. The relaxation of [illegible] in the mid-sixteenth century was both a marker of a changed political reality and a spur to an economic and cultural expansion that shaped a new era, despite the continuation of Ming rule for nearly another century.

Distinctions between official and personal spheres of art are thus related to larger political and social trends, where the very [illegible] were in the court sphere thus have stimulated a relative strengthening of personalized artistic approaches. The official sphere included art and architecture produced at the imperial court or made by and for officials for political purposes, along with regional projects such as temple building patronized by court-affiliated sponsors such as emperors, officials, and eunuchs. The personal sphere of art and life styles was centered on those who were withdrawn from official life either because of loyalist or anti-Mongol sentiments, [illegible] nation, lack of success in the official examination or recruitment process, or retirement. The spaces of personal arts included gardens, studios, and mountain retreats and circulated variously around themes of hermitic withdrawal, social gathering, and travel. Distinctions between official and personal spheres overlap with ideas of the public and private, or with work and leisure spaces. Although the audience for official art was mainly the imperial establishment, [illegible] the popular [illegible] have a public dimension as it spread to regional sites and temples and [illegible] of mural painting and monumental architecture and sculpture [illegible] and [illegible] broadly known and accessible. [illegible] were connected with relatively private life but almost always with a social or [illegible] dimension. Though often conveying an [illegible] of escapism or of leisure, [illegible] was [illegible] in constructing a space of shared group [illegible] the outside of [illegible] from which high officials were drawn, of course, but [illegible] periods such as Yuan, when native Chinese were discriminated against for office-holding, discussed [illegible] groups marked by [illegible] of loyalty to [illegible] regime. [illegible] Mongol [illegible] members of the elite were [illegible] withdrawn or [illegible] [illegible] a personal space of cultural performance.

A [illegible] and personal [illegible] appears as an [illegible] between the imperial [illegible] and the gardens, spaces of [illegible]. The region of Beijing had already been one of five capital cities of the Liao dynasty (contrived as the primary capital of the [illegible] region and become for the first time the capital of all of China when it was established as Dadu, the capital of the Mongol Yuan dynasty (see "The Establishment of the Yuan Capital of Dadu at Beijing," page [illegible]).

Little of the physical fabric [illegible] flering survives, but the basic axial plan of the imperial city and its ritual sites, along with a series of enclosing walls, was preserved in later rebuilding. Although most of the surviving buildings and walls of the imperial





6-8 Du Qiong
(1397–1474)
Befriending the Pines

in which the [illegible] of [illegible] alone is worth a separate [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

The types of ownership [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] Ming period [illegible]

a [illegible] Suzhou [illegible]

public [illegible]

> [illegible] the [illegible] was a garden [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Where [illegible] rocks and [illegible] splendid halls and [illegible]
>
> [illegible]
>
> [illegible] Most of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

Since gardens passed through many owners' hands [illegible]

[illegible] to identify characteristic features of Yuan–Ming gardens from their current forms. Paintings and literary descriptions can help us to reconstruct their appearance [illegible]

[illegible] details of [illegible] still, paintings and surviving garden sites can

[illegible] of the tastes and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]ing the Pines [illegible] (6-8) [illegible] [illegible] garden was painted by Du Qiong (1397–1474), an artist who was well [illegible] the Suzhou [illegible] Ming. [illegible] paintings were personalized by [illegible] student or other [illegible] between the artist and the owner of the garden [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] gardens. In this case the garden owner was the artist's brother-in-law, and [illegible] of the scroll and name of the main [illegible] were drawn from [illegible] owner. [illegible] names

[illegible] [illegible] reflect some aspect of their character or interests and [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] painting [illegible] garden [illegible] [illegible] that [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of the painting and of the garden [illegible] [illegible] the host and a guest sit in conversation within the main building, while other guests [illegible] the grounds, where [illegible] palace or ceremonial compounds, the garden is irregular in layout, with small-scale, relatively rustic buildings and elements that evoke naturalness. Stone tables

hold dwarf trees in trays and pots, and an eroded garden stone. Both nearby and far sides [illegible] with groves of banana palms and bamboo. A further enclosure has a small waterfall, pond, and foliage ringed by [illegible], accessible through double doors set within an [illegible] hanging grotto. The rough textures and muted [illegible] of the painting, along with the scene itself, [illegible] suffuse things [illegible] values of simplicity and integrity.

At the [illegible] time, the contrasts between personal and official arts are readily apparent in every aspect of style, [illegible] in comparison to [illegible] the Pines, a contemporary work by Shang Xi, a court painting [illegible] (Fig. 8.4) [illegible] Massive in size, [illegible] bright colors and with strong, forceful brushstrokes, [illegible] in [illegible] painting sketches or stencils, Shang Xi's work is at [illegible] remove from the personalized, understated brushwork of Du Qiong's handscroll. The public realm of heroic martial exploits embodied in dynamic [illegible] figures seems likewise a world apart from the focus on rough-textured natural objects in the garden picture. To some extent these distinctions parallel the stylistic differences between the Suzhou or Wu school of Du Qiong and the Zhe school of painters from the Zhejiang region such as Shang Xi. The Southern Song capital of Hangzhou was in Zhejiang, and many Zhe school artists of the Ming drew on Southern Song court painting devices such as the dramatic graded ink washes [illegible] seen in Shang Xi's painting. More fundamentally important than the regional and stylistic distinctions, however, were functional contrasts between [illegible] public narrative art by court or professional painters and the more personal works by independent artists.

However, official and personal spheres of art were not always so dramatically separate, because they circulated around the values and tastes of the same groups of elite patrons and audiences, whether they were in or out of official roles. Moreover, communication and emulation of styles of living and art became increasingly a part of the cultural sphere associated with [illegible] as well as the emerging [illegible] of the middle Ming period. However, such gardens, studios and [illegible] retreats may have served as places [illegible] of personal escape and cultivation, [illegible] were open to [illegible] as well. [illegible] found in Du Qiong's handscroll, [illegible] in which the host is shown [illegible] official [illegible] a [illegible] handscroll of 1437 depicting [illegible] gathering in the Apricot Garden (Fig. 8.5) [illegible] and their guests, among whom the painter, a court artist named Xie Huan, is part [illegible]. These [illegible] their court clothes. The garden, buildings and plants are rendered in a [illegible] detailed [illegible] style associated with the court. The officials are, however, engaged in cultivated activities such as viewing paintings and writing calligraphy within the leisure space of a garden, as if they had engaged the artist to record their fitness to participate in the more personal side of elite culture.

ART AND OFFICIAL IDEOLOGY

The use of art for ideological purposes, to illustrate or propagate the values and interests of the dominant ruling groups, was an important feature of court painting in the early Ming period. The political and ideological functions of art of the Yuan period are harder to trace, in part because the Mongol rulers were more sporadic patrons of art than either the preceding Song or following Ming courts. Mongol rule brought a disruption of Southern Song court traditions of art patronage and stylistic and thematic practice [illegible]. The Yuan [illegible] such artisan craftsmen as sculptors and carvers, a small number of proper court painters who [illegible] connoisseurs and educated Chinese officials who served as painting and calligraphy connoisseurs and advisers. Scholar-officials

8-7 Att[illegible] Liu Guandao, [illegible] (1279–1300), Khubilai Khan Hunting

who painted pr[illegible] other official subjects will be [illegible] in a later section.

The promotion of Mongol [illegible] in a [illegible] could be accomplished by importation, as when the N[illegible] sculptor Anige (see 8-12 below) was brought to court, where the

Tibetan-Nepalese style he had a lasting impact on Buddhist art production in some ways. This was an artistic counterpart of the Mongol political and cultural policy [illegible]. The Mongols [illegible] Chinese culture and discrimination against ethnic Chinese, especially those from the south. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of the hunt in Mongol [illegible] in Yuan period painting, [illegible] the court painter Liu [illegible] ing the first Yuan emperor Khubilai Khan hunting (8-7) [illegible] fascination [illegible] interests [illegible] imperial [illegible] with the emperor accompanied by the empress Chabi as a central [illegible] of more active hunters. The attendants and guards are arranged in circles around the imperial couple, an echo of Mongol cavalry formations, and have a distinctly [illegible] Central Asian flavor with dark-skinned figures and coarse features prominent. All are arrayed on the kind of featureless plane that was a conventional landscape setting for the northern frontiers.

Horses were also a traditional symbol of [illegible] king an abstraction of the imperial stables. [illegible] judging horse[illegible] was [illegible] equated with wise selection of competent officials. A depiction of handsome steeds could convey a message of [illegible] and other [illegible] specifically political messages [illegible] Ren [illegible] 8-8 [illegible] [illegible] that [illegible] is set [illegible] [illegible] recognized and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] The starving horse could be seen [illegible] Mongol [illegible] symbol of the plight [illegible] of these scholars.

The Ming dynasty reinstituted a more regular system of court-appointed artists and a

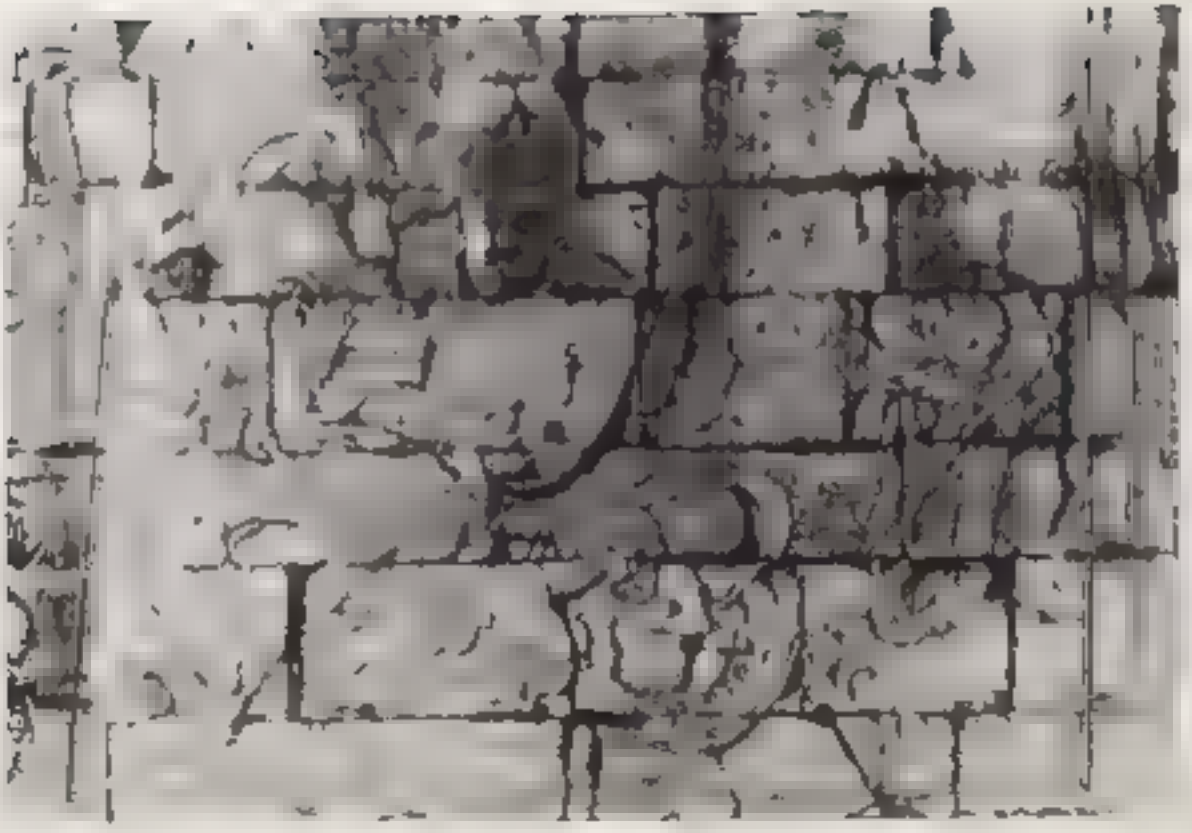
[illegible]

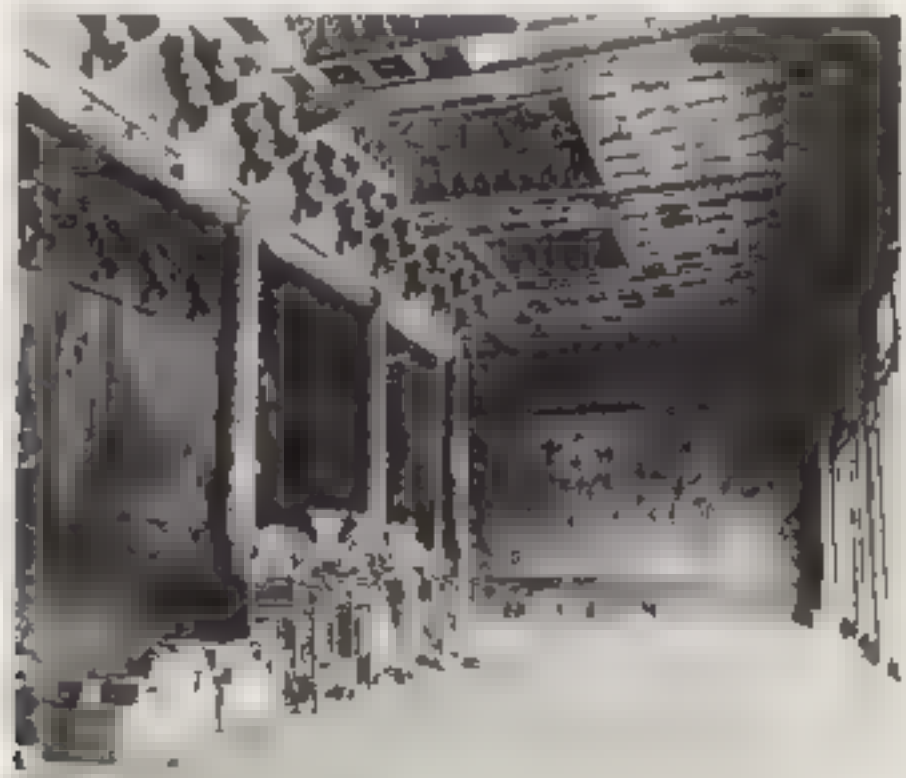
periods of pressing military concerns, in which many of the emperors actively served as leaders of campaigns. The founder of the Ming had been a successful rebel general, emerging from a peasant background; his heir, the [illegible] known by his reign name as the [illegible] emperor, usurped the throne from his nephew, the designated heir, by leading a military rebellion; and another mid-fifteenth-century emperor was captured by the Mongols after leading an ill-advised punitive expedition. Paintings such as Guan Yu Captures [illegible] by the court artist Shang Xi (see fig. [illegible] above) [illegible] in this context. It depicts a famous general of the Three Kingdoms period (220–265) following the break-up of the Han dynasty, an era marked by issues of regional rivalry, strategy, and conflicting loyalties. Guan Yu was renowned for his loyalty to the [illegible] and [illegible] and later became one of the [illegible] heroes in the novel *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, which popularized his exploits. At a further level, Guan [illegible]

[illegible] as a popular god of war [illegible] his worship and sculptural and painted images as the focus of veneration. The career of Guan Yu is an interesting example of cultural transformation at work, where different aspects of Guan Yu appealed to and [illegible] distinguished by class and social function. For a large, elaborate court painting such as this, it should be primarily the historical Guan Yu who is invoked, as a model of valor and loyalty [illegible] by contemporary viewers. Because this is a visual image, however, it seems likely that the popular, deified version of Guan Yu has a part to play as well. There is something undeniably theatrical about the array of figures on a shallow stage who strike poses of magnified muscularity and communicate with the [illegible] play of intense gazes. Some of the same qualities, including the bright colors and gilding, were to be found in altar sculptures in the Guan Yu temples. Whatever the mix of sources and significance, this image belongs to a pictorial tradition of great narrative power and visual impact found in religious mural and [illegible] history painting. The muscular nudity of the captured general is rarely seen in this period, owing to a culturally conditioned sense of decorum. In this context, the contrast between the brilliant armor of Guan Yu and the exposed body of the captive is a sign [illegible] of humiliation [illegible] of heroism.

[illegible] portraits were another vehicle for asserting dynastic authority. They were not, however, public monuments [illegible] the very making [illegible] considered a [illegible] power [illegible] subsequently [illegible] might have been [illegible] as [illegible] examples from the Song and early Ming [illegible] seated [illegible] with [illegible] and [illegible] *A Portrait of the Ming Hongzhi Emperor* [illegible] that would permit the [illegible] imperial [illegible] including imperial symbols placed symmetrically [illegible] backing screen, robe, and carpet, drawn [illegible] giving a new lavishness of imperial furnishing and display. The face of the emperor is [illegible] masklike [illegible] and lacking much sense of presence or personality. This seems a fitting image [illegible] of the Ming imperial system, where the emperor is [illegible] privileges of power, and which would [illegible] the Ming [illegible] a kind of paralysis [illegible] at the imperial center.

OFFICIAL PATRONAGE OF RELIGIOUS ART AND ARCHITECTURE





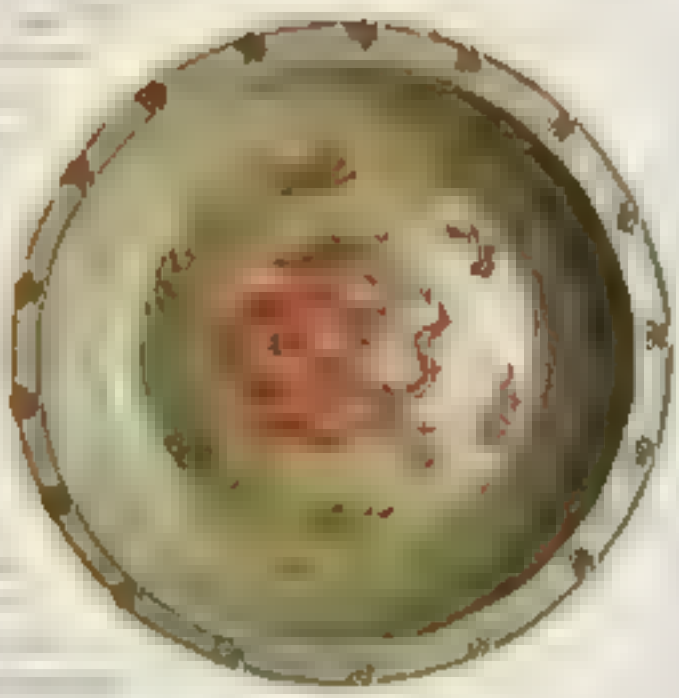
[illegible] Erlangshen [illegible] the Mountain Demons

This dynamic tableau [illegible] one of main painters [illegible] the [illegible]

[illegible] the grand assemblage of deities [illegible] exemplifies the [illegible] when popular religious images seems to have been an outlet for themes of violence and sexuality otherwise suppressed by standards of decorum. The stylistic qualities of these staged, dense, overlapped designs of strongly outlined figures in stylized tableaux seem to foreshadow qualities of the urban ukiyo-e of [illegible] pictorial [illegible] which depicted sensual themes from popular culture.

Official patronage of Buddhist institutions and art continued vigorously under the native Ming dynasty, often in the form [illegible] its power in alliance with the eunuchs, castrated male attendants of the imperial household who traditionally served in the women's quarters of the palace. Abuses of eunuch power in the imperial family were particularly widespread in the Ming, in part because of a trend toward despotic concentration of power in the hands of the emperors and their confidants against the official bureaucracy. Many eunuchs were at the same time prominent in the cultural and military life of the Ming, including the admiral–explorer Zheng He. The sponsor of the Fahai Si (Sea of the Law Temple), built in the western suburbs of Beijing between 1439 and 1444, was another eunuch named Li Tong, who served on overseas expeditions under two emperors and was later appointed Director of Imperial Accoutrements at the palace, in which capacity he would have employed artists and artisans. The temple's surviving mural painting cycles of the [illegible] originally accompanied by large wooden sculptures of Buddhas and luohan, were painted by fifteen painters supervised by the palace artists Wan Fuqing and Wang Shu—an example of the [illegible] between official and religious patronage.

The Sea of the Law Temple murals include images of Indian Hindu deities, and other early-fifteenth-century monuments also reveal international and exotic influences. The third Ming emperor, known by his reign title as Yongle (r. 1403–1424), maintained a particularly strong interest in Indian and Tibetan Buddhism alongside his sponsorship of Admiral Zheng He's overseas maritime expeditions. [illegible] the building of a temple in Beijing [illegible] of the [illegible] Temple [illegible] of the [illegible] An [illegible] silk [illegible] Yamantaka [illegible] of the Yongle era, probably dedicated to a Tibetan lama who visited the emperor's court [illegible] of the [illegible] whose [illegible] was already prominent at the Mongol court of the Yuan and was central to the esoteric practice of [illegible] Buddhism. The ferocious deity, wreathed in serpents and garlands of skulls, tramples gods, humans, animals and birds underfoot, triumphing over all obstacles. His multiple heads, legs, arms and attributes are distinguished by color, shading, and textural effects achieved by varying



characteristics of porcelain production like later and [illegible] stages, and some earlier. These precedents, such as stoneware production in the Han period. By the mid-sixteenth century, ceramic production involved more than ten thousand craftsmen in the region, and a single piece might undergo seventy-two processes before completion. This [illegible] was distributed [illegible] that supplied markets ranging from the imperial households to export markets in Southeast Asia and eventually Europe and America. [illegible] was a major [illegible] Chinese and world economies, or centuries and [illegible] porcelain production [illegible] today.

In terms of [illegible] and style, the Yuan period was important for the appearance of underglaze painted decoration using copper red and cobalt pigments, [illegible] the last and most famous [illegible] the most popular blue-and-white types. Although Song taste had favored monochrome wares with pictorial designs, [illegible] of modeled patterns, earlier precedents existed for [illegible] pictorial designs brushed on ceramics with cobalt oxide or colored [illegible] underglaze enamel pigments [illegible] Chinese Cizhou types and the [illegible] earlier underglaze painted designs in the southern Henan wares of the Tang period. These were less refined stonewares [illegible] lower temperatures, however, and Yuan-period Jingdezhen saw the first large-scale combination of porcelain technique with underglaze painting, following some experimental developments in the Northern Song period. The taste for underglaze blue porcelains may have been both a motivation and enabler by the international connections of the Yuan dynasty. The best sources for the cobalt used for the blue ornamentation came from Western Asia and so were more easily supplied during the period of Mongol domination of Asia, with its [illegible] trade routes. Much early blue-and-white production seems also to have been oriented to export markets in the Middle and Near East and Southeast Asia. Some of the designs of these wares may have aimed at replacing cruder painted Near Eastern wares with more durable and refined porcelains decorated in similar style, and much of the demand has stimulated production of blue-and-white wares may have originated from Arab clients in West Asia.

[illegible] great advantages of underglaze decoration—besides the [illegible] it was done on the firing principle [illegible] over which a transparent pre[illegible]—was its adaptability to a wide range of markets and [illegible] specialists produced vessels decorated with designs of decorative flowers and plants, [illegible] birds, fish, and figural scenes [illegible] demanded. Designs [illegible] printing Tibetan Buddhist [illegible] in large numbers for home markets and religious [illegible] generally simple and with [illegible] vessel shapes—most large jars, vases, bowls, and dishes—were [illegible] and crisp than those of Song ceramics [illegible] because the shapes were less [illegible] the main impact of the vessels now conveyed primarily by the painted decoration. As always, [illegible] period and [illegible] had important effects [illegible] Many [illegible] potters produced monochrome wares with very elegant shapes.

An early [illegible] excavated at Baoding in the northern Chinese province of Hebei shows the early development of underglaze painted decoration in the Yuan period. The [illegible] combines cobalt blue [illegible] the [illegible] underglaze painting with [illegible] flower heads in an openwork panel around the [illegible] by a cusped-headed frame. The busy, diverse painted designs with circular-cornered shapes on the shoulders of the vessels [illegible] patterns on earlier designs and the [illegible] of pattern are common in the Yuan period and contrast with the [illegible] Song-period ceramics. [illegible] designs in harmony with vessel shapes. Some Yuan blue-and-white wares exported to the Near East and preserved at the Topkapi Sarayı in Istanbul, Turkey, are still denser and busier in design and suggest the influence of Islamic taste and texts. Later on, early-sixteenth-century blue-and-white wares with Arabic script designs were produced both for export and for the use of sultans, much as the Ming court underglaze blue painted ceramics also became a preferred medium for fully pictorial designs throughout the Yuan and Ming periods. Cizhou wares [illegible] known

Mu[illegible] was of saucers, during the Chenghua era (1465–1487) when artists used in underglaze blue outlines with overglaze enamel accents in yellows, purples, and reds in the technique known as doucai, or "joined colors," often on small cups and jars. In part because of the expense of producing wares with such a complex technique, the Chenghua imperial [illegible] of the impact of these women on art production may have guided the [illegible] these delicate and [illegible] objects. The large polychrome jars with carp and waterplants (Fig. 8-25) [illegible] the Jiajing era (1522–1566) [illegible] a stocking of [illegible] porcelain. These also make use of underglaze blue and overglaze enamel decoration, but with a much bolder palette of bright reds, blues, greens, yellows, and golds and with [illegible] the delicacy of the "joined colors" blue-doucai technique. The jars are also richly potted, and the subject matter of carp or goldfish suggests a popular appeal, both as a reference to the hobby of ornamental fish breeding and in its symbolic [illegible] wishes for an abundance of wealth.

PERSONAL ARTS OF THE EMPEROR'S COURT

[illegible] scholar-officials. This [illegible] social grade and a science [illegible] political [illegible] conservative [illegible] traditions, and [illegible] also has a special [illegible] rendering of poetic devices [illegible] metaphor in painting [illegible]

[illegible] because [illegible] and [illegible]

In the Yuan and early [illegible] Ming periods, a [illegible] mode of painting among the [illegible] and historically important. For convenience [illegible] with a classical literary education [illegible] become [illegible] the [illegible] states. [illegible] because social and [illegible] were [illegible] however [illegible] some [illegible] of the [illegible] characteristics of Song scholar-painting. The artist's status as a government [illegible] understanding of poetic allusions in painting—was as important in the Yuan to middle Ming periods. Many of the Yuan-Ming literati artists held [illegible] or [illegible] positions or none at all. This was in part due to historical circumstances. Educated southerners [illegible] were [illegible] against [illegible] the establishment [illegible] by the Mongol rulers of the Yuan. As the beginning of the Ming, a large number of scholars who were suspected of seditious sentiments were persecuted. [illegible] the rise of eunuch power [illegible] a climate of generally increased governmental despotism made official careers relatively unattractive to men who could afford to ignore [illegible] and [illegible] Furthermore, most

Fig. 8-25 Jar with carp, Ming dynasty, polychrome ware

Yuan–Ming literati painting was poetic in a more limited sense than in the Song. Most of the artists in this group were educated men of some literary attainment. In poetry, essayistic forms, which often came in the way, may be inscriptions on painting. There was, however, comparatively less concern in this period with the nuanced pictorial counterparts or niche devices of metaphor and imagery.

Because this type of perseverance painting was so significant in the Yuan–Ming period, we should review some other characteristic features. Literati painter, as often contrasted with artisan, this was true only in a limited sense. Amateurism can involve aspects of training and practice as well as compensation arrangements. Most artists of any period were not full-time painting specialists, and they often had other ostensible professions, even if only potential ones as examination candidates. They often illustrated an air of amateurishness in technique and most were in fact in a position to compete in technical capabilities of highly trained professionals, but the known styles demanded special skills in the manipulation of brush and ink. They were hardly beginners. Artists such as court appointments or monastic affiliations. Many did, however, spend much of their time as artists, and they almost always were involved in some systematic exchange of value for their art. This could take very indirect forms, such as introduction of access to the ruler, or of social or political power at various kinds of banner arrangements, or such things as medical care, hospital, banquets, gifts of food and wine, or presents of valuable art materials such as paper, silk, or ink. Direct cash payments were less often recorded, but probably too uncommon in many cases. Most paintings were done for some kind of social purpose and involved compensation, however indirect.

Of more positive terms, we can say that literati art always had a strong component of social group identity. In the Yuan–Ming period, we are considering, this group was primarily composed of educated gentlemen of some military attainment. They might come from prominent families or the local landholding gentry. Painting and calligraphy were social occasions in which members exchanged recently established poems or obligations and frequently involved in social occasions. Such paintings might commemorate actual gatherings or ceremonies or paintings, if they might be circulated as claims of a claimed social bond.

Literati painting is often said to be an artistic ideal, but in the Yuan–early Ming period there was relatively little specific reference of ancient masters as models. Instead, there was a broad variation of an attitude in paintings, a turning to the past as a source of value. The early Yuan painter Zhao Mengfu said:

> The spirit of design was what is valuable in painting. There is no spirit in antiquity. Even though here and there will be some small [illegible] My own paintings seem to be quite simply and carelessly done but connoisseurs of realism [illegible] the past and thus may be considered superior. This is said in the ignorance of the ignorant.
>
> Bush and Shih, Early Chinese Texts on Painting, p. 234

Such statements [illegible] and terms [illegible] standards for judging art which the artist and others [illegible] knowledge of another [illegible] of shared group values. The widespread reference to the past does mark an important [illegible] point in which pursuit of innovative styles and representational techniques is counterbalanced by a nostalgia for the past and a strong awareness of its separateness from the present era.

Literati paintings are sometimes identified as self-expressive of artists' tastes of the artists' feelings. This is often overstated, since many such paintings are thoroughly conventional, works depending more on conditions of status, genre, and situations than direct self-expression. Some artists' statements, such as Ni Zan's comments on his bamboo painting, allude to self-expression and freedom from representational constraints:

> My bamboo simply to express the unencumbered spirit in my breast. Then how can I judge whether it is like some thing or not, whether its leaves are [illegible] or spaded, its branches standing or straight? They were only have danced and [illegible] while others seeing its [illegible] it to be hemp or

[illegible] Since I cannot bring myself to argue [illegible] [illegible] what [illegible] he thinks [illegible]

Bush and [illegible] *Chinese Art in Painting* [illegible]

As with Zhao Mengfu's still-quoted thought [illegible] Ming painting, the primary focus has been [illegible] with [illegible] economy from any [illegible] other than his own subjective [illegible] representational [illegible]. This is [illegible] sophisticated [illegible] from representational aims and standards in painting, although [illegible] [illegible] status [illegible] painting remained [illegible] the more distinctive personal [illegible] [illegible] technique, style and [illegible] addition [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] nuances that mark the painting of [illegible] as the work of a specific person. This was [illegible] Because the value of such paintings and [illegible] [illegible] to the social position [illegible] literary renown [illegible] the artist's name [illegible] the quality of the work [illegible] painting [illegible] the system of the autograph [illegible] and being [illegible] distinguished persons.

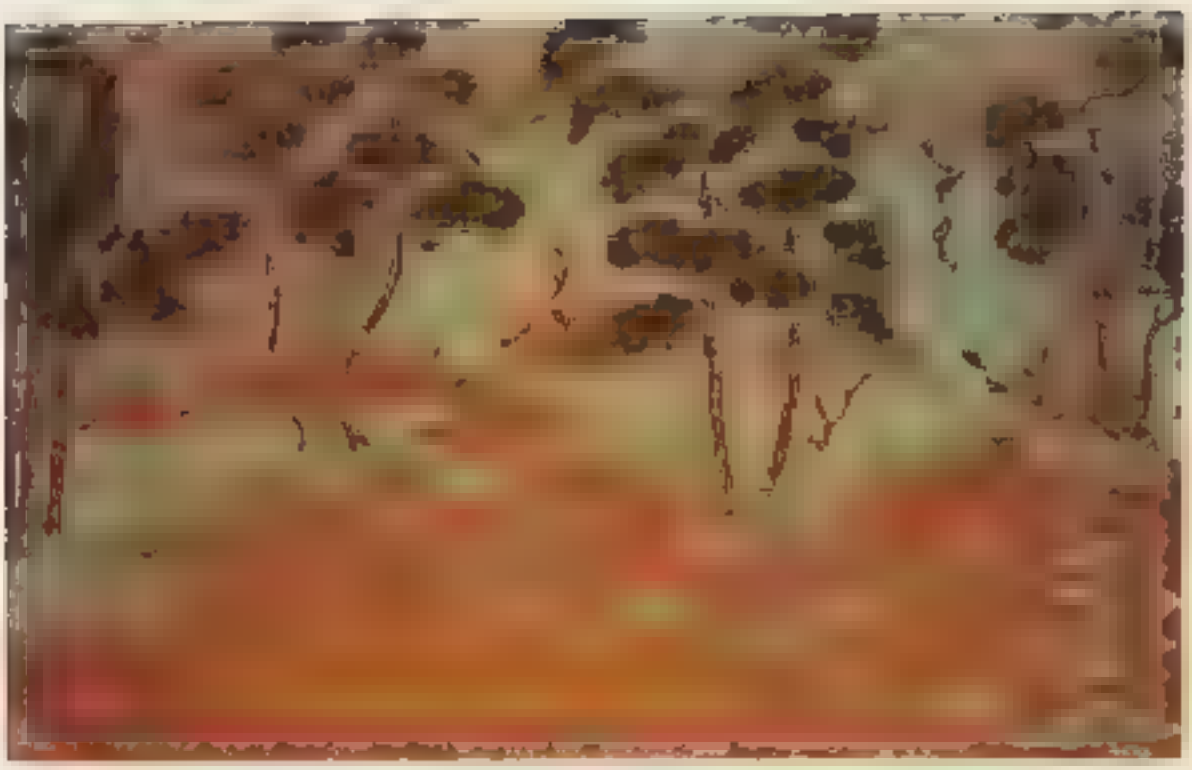
Another characteristic of Yuan–Ming literati painting is its [illegible] locality. Many [illegible] painting [illegible] landscapes [illegible] representations of particular places that held personal associations for the artist, rivers and mountains, dwellings, retreats and studios, [illegible] famous scenic spots or historical sites. This is another way in which such paintings could be personal, [illegible] through indicating the biography of [illegible] the artist, recipient, or both.

When we combine the emphasis in Yuan–Ming literati painting on personalization through style, writing, and local association, with [illegible] aesthetic and ethical attainments, it seems clear that this kind of painting was primarily about defining a sphere of cultural independence for the class of educated but often disenfranchised or [illegible] gentlemen. The [illegible] in the past also suggests a conservative [illegible] in a [illegible] those elite and often well-[illegible] landowners whose aspirations to official status and power were thwarted by Mongol discrimination or by the inhospitable Ming political climate.

The *Landscape of [illegible]* (fig. 26) is a [illegible] scroll painting by Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322), a descendant of the imperial house who [illegible] a high official position under the Mongol Yuan emperors. [illegible]

The painting embodies several aspects of the [illegible] above. The [illegible] small presence [illegible] was [illegible] in the past by [illegible] figs. 5.26–5.28 above. The subject of the painting refers [illegible] about [illegible] century painter [illegible] who explained his artistical portrait of the [illegible] Xie Yuan [illegible] mountains [illegible] since Xie had [illegible] superiority not [illegible] but in the temperament [illegible]—an imaginary inhabitant of the woods of mountains and streams. Zhao's render[illegible] of the subject [illegible] as [illegible] about [illegible] service [illegible] his own [illegible].

The [illegible] style was one available mode of conveying literati interests, but a much more typical character of the Yuan–Ming period was monochromatic ink-on-paper [illegible] that [illegible] a [illegible] record of its production. This allowed the viewer to experience the painting to a considerable extent as a personal [illegible] the painting such as an [illegible] process, and as one which [illegible] a bond between painting and viewer. Since we have emphasized the importance of themes of women's culture in Song–Yuan painting, and some recurrent subjects in the Yuan–Ming period (see figs. 7.34, 7.35 and 8.14 above), we should note the appearance of a [illegible] woman artist in the early Yuan period, Guan Daosheng. Zhao Mengfu's wife, she was a woman of education and culture, a poet and painter whose surviving works are monochromatic images of scholarly [illegible] such as bamboo and rocks. *Bamboo, Rocks and Rain* (fig. 8.27) is an evocative work in the manner with a certain [illegible] of the signature of [illegible] painters. The scroll also [illegible] a woman's evidence of another image of women's cultural participation.



Dense areas alternate with sparse areas, and one must achieve a balance. [illegible] The method of painting rocks is to start with [illegible] here can be changed [illegible] and gradually add richer ink [illegible] use [illegible] that is easiest [illegible] [illegible] simplest use diluted ink [illegible] painting, [illegible] can [illegible] use scorched ink [illegible] ink and brush [illegible] the path.

[illegible]

Bush and Shih, Early Chinese Texts on Painting, pp. 262–63

[illegible] was this combination of personalization through the artist's inscription, the associations of the site, and [illegible] production that made the work so lastingly valuable to later literati painters.

Strategies of personalization [illegible] range of landscapes or symbolic [illegible] such as bamboo into self-representations of the artist and [illegible] his sense that [illegible]

[illegible] seeing the man in his world [illegible] meaningful. More straightforward portrait representations [illegible] famous Portrait of [illegible] (Fig. 8-29), who was a notable poet and [illegible] calligrapher as well as a landscape and bamboo painter. [illegible] portrayed as a man of means and [illegible] surrounded by part of his collection of antiquities, books, and paintings. A long laudatory inscription by [illegible] praises Ni Zan (1306–1374) for his refinement and a fastidiousness that was manifested [illegible] his legendary obsession with personal cleanliness; one of the servants is bringing water and towels for washing, and in the case [illegible] brought [illegible] painting. The [illegible] landscape on the screen behind Ni Zan is in his typical style and [illegible] his own work [illegible] scenery. The [illegible] drawing of the figures, though [illegible] Ni Zan's [illegible] temperament. The portrait celebrates Ni Zan as an exceptional person, but his temperament is conveyed through [illegible] conventional symbols and elements. This was a continuing paradigm [illegible] painting, which appears also in Ni Zan's late landscapes. Ni's [illegible] scenes with empty [illegible] overlooking a stretch of water and low distant hills could serve as poignant evocations of displacement from his home estate under pressure from Yuan officials, when [illegible] in inscriptions. Late in his life [illegible] symbolic formulation of locality and personal circumstance could be adapted [illegible] situations, as in his Rongxi Studio (Fig. 8-30) of 137[illegible]. This work

8-28 Huang Gongwang (1269–1354), *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains*

[illegible] inscription [illegible] and form the long handscroll depiction of Huang [illegible]

process of production [illegible]

Despite its restraint and [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] entering [illegible]

8–29 Anon. *Portrait of Ni Zan*

[illegible] and colors on paper [illegible] cm [illegible] Palace Museum, Beijing

was painted in advanced age as a later description of the physician-owner of the studio, a purposeful recollection of Ni Zan's precise, energetic, all-purpose gestures at the prime of his style. This type of landscape was thus by his own praise a [illegible] of Ni Zan's identity, which could be [illegible] exchanged for future assets from the physician's recipient. None of his distinguishes the subtlety of his work, which achieves a sense of [illegible] and [illegible] tension with the most economical use of pale ink and angled outlines of the brush.

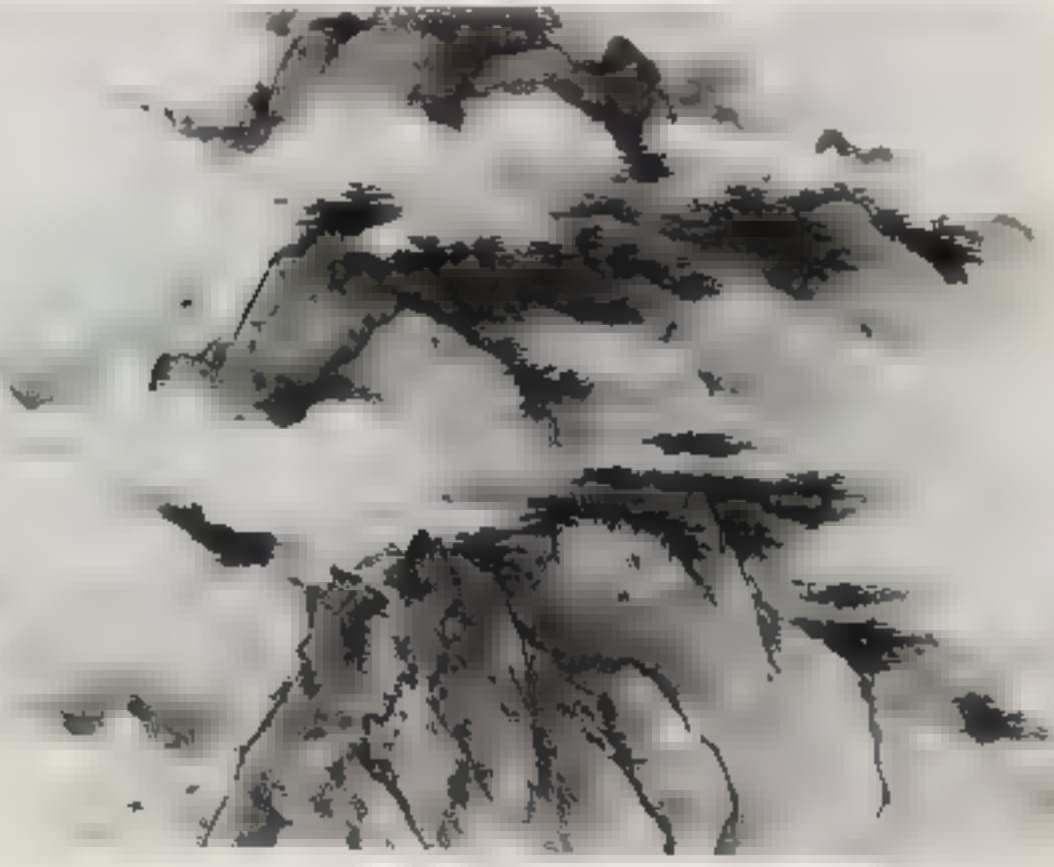
The achievement of [illegible] painting in the Yuan lay in opening up an arena for personal performance analogous to what had [illegible] earlier on in calligraphy and painting by [illegible] realized in Song-period scholar–official painting. The work of Ni Zan's contemporary Wang Meng (c. 1309–1385) indicates the range of possibilities available through this concept of painting. His Dwelling in Recession in the Qing Bian Mountains of 1368 (fig. 8–30) is nearly antithetical to Ni's style: it is densely layered, [illegible] and dynamic, with a broad range of [illegible] and tonalities. The situation of the artist exemplifies the degree to which [illegible] painting in this period was a matter of local social or [illegible] works. Wang Meng was the maternal grandson of Zhao Mengfu (see fig. 8–26) and probably made the painting for a [illegible] commemorative [illegible] the end of the Yuan period. The all-mountain scene combines [illegible] of a complex [illegible] or eleventh-century monumental landscape styles but in a mantle, which emphasizes the [illegible] and [illegible] appropriate [illegible] rural situations of social [illegible] and upheaval.

The widespread emphasis on [illegible] in Yuan painting may in part have represented a response to foreign conquest, particularly among [illegible] painters who came from relatively well-to-do [illegible] holding [illegible] families. Another case [illegible] involves the physician-painter Wang [illegible], who devoted him[illegible] to [illegible] the western sacred mountain range known as Mount Hua. He travelled here and became steeped in the lore of the place, producing a large-scale album of forty leaves [illegible] extensive [illegible] 1352. Wang [illegible] was an educated artist and writer who, though he considered one of the [illegible], adding his representational ambitions [illegible] the range of what [illegible] produced. However, his "Essay on Painting the Mount Hua" deliberately opposes the aims of contemporary educated artists and the emphasis on the expression of ideas over form. Essentially, [illegible] accuracy and [illegible] form remains the paramount [illegible] in painting.

> Although painting is representational, he emphasizes the expression of ideas [illegible] the meaning is [illegible] one may say that a painting is not even representational. Nevertheless, ideas exist in visual forms. If one discards these forms, where can one find the ideas? Thus, one who realizes the [illegible] forms as a vehicle in which the forms are [illegible] What kind of representation is

8-30 [illegible] Zar [illegible] Dro [illegible] Ring [illegible]

8-31 Wang Meng, c. 1309–85, Dwelling in Recluseness on the Qing Bian Mountain



[illegible] 139. The Top[illegible] of Blue Dragon Ridge

rather than using an adventure [illegible] appropriate [illegible] his purpose. Wang adopted a version of the Southern Song academic landscape style with a [illegible] distinct [illegible] strokes and [illegible] and a certain [illegible] atmospheric effects of cloud. Unlike Wang, who composed on a much less [illegible] however and adapted [illegible] sites. The [illegible] Blue Orchid Ridge [illegible] in back roads is central [illegible] over [illegible] and [illegible] comparison with [illegible] Fan Kuan see page [illegible] [illegible] Wang [illegible] Fan [illegible] and [illegible] When asked [illegible] replied [illegible] make my hand [illegible] teacher [illegible] Mi Fu as [illegible] teacher.

The urban and suburban landscape of Suzhou and its environs rather than remote sacred mountains became the most important locales for cultivated painters of the early [illegible] Ming. Suzhou's commercial prosperity and emergence as a handicraft and luxury production center along with its [illegible] as a [illegible] site [illegible] environment for art patronage and art production. Although Suzhou was an increasingly dynamic economic environment throughout this period, much [illegible] emphasized leisure culture, either as a reflection of the upper classes' [illegible] or as a deliberate avoidance of the vanities of urban commerce.

Shen Zhou (1427–1509) was the very type of the educated scholar-amateur artist, a role which he was able to cultivate because inherited wealth and land relieved him from the necessity of earning a living. He never undertook an official career, devoting himself instead to literary and art [illegible] on his estate and in the society of the Suzhou region. His subjects were mostly familiar sites, famous nearby scenic and historical places, and social gathering spots. In contrast to the remote hermitages and unpopulated scenery of so much of Yuan literati painting, he often worked in the format of a [illegible] based on a single heroic innovation of the late Yuan–early

H-13 Wen Zhengming (1470–1559) Pine Trees and Water Fall

[illegible] Shen Zhou.
[illegible] 1494. Pen and [illegible] on paper. 54 [illegible]
Mountain Top

[illegible] and has allowed for deep [illegible] subjects. The spiral [illegible] motifs as [illegible] of departure and return, reflecting the importance of travel [illegible] and long separations of elite [illegible] scholars. Shen Zhou's [illegible] Mountain Top [illegible] 8-34) with the Southern Song court painter Ma Yuan's [illegible] Mountain Path in Spring (see pp. 7-33) also [illegible] preserving mining problems. Shen Zhou's painting is much more personal [illegible] in the sense that he [illegible] his own poem, written in his hand [illegible] of evacuation [illegible] a deserted [illegible]

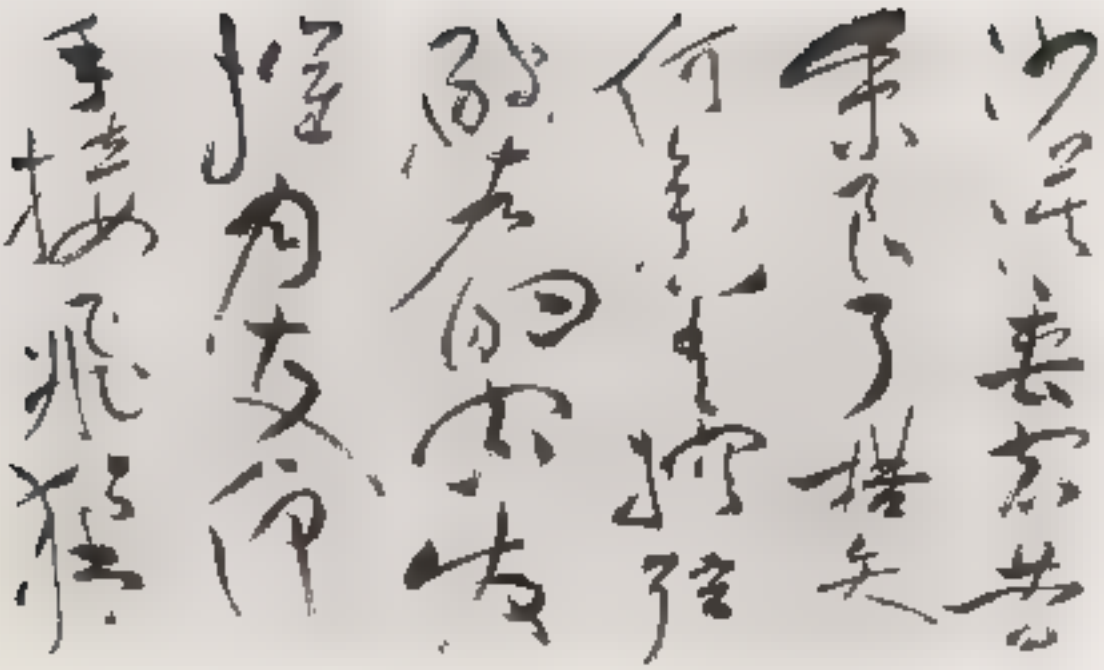
> White clouds like a bell encircle the mountain
>
> A [illegible] hang into space and the air [illegible]
>
> [illegible] in my humble staff and [illegible] contented [illegible] space
>
> With the sound of [illegible]
>
> [illegible]
>
> He [illegible] Eight Dragons [illegible]
>
> *Painting* [illegible]

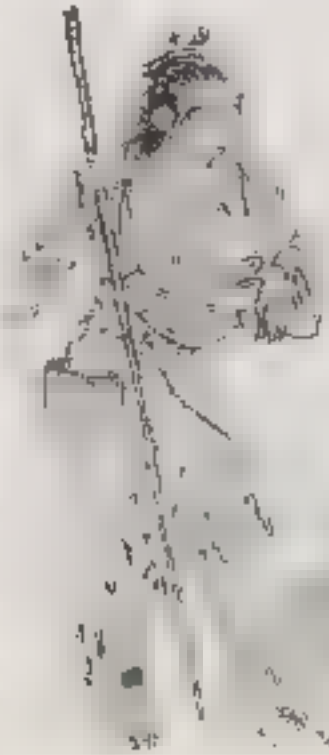
Ma Yuan's [illegible] contrast, it illustrates a court poem written in the hand of a member of the imperial family. On the other hand, Shen Zhou's figures are merely conventional types, incapable of conveying the emotions through posture and expression as Ma Yuan's have [illegible]. Instead, Shen Zhou's blunt brushwork and rhythmic graphic patterns of ink must convey personal qualities of character and [illegible]. Shen Zhou's work was a ready [illegible] in his own [illegible] very long [illegible] acquiring a market value [illegible].

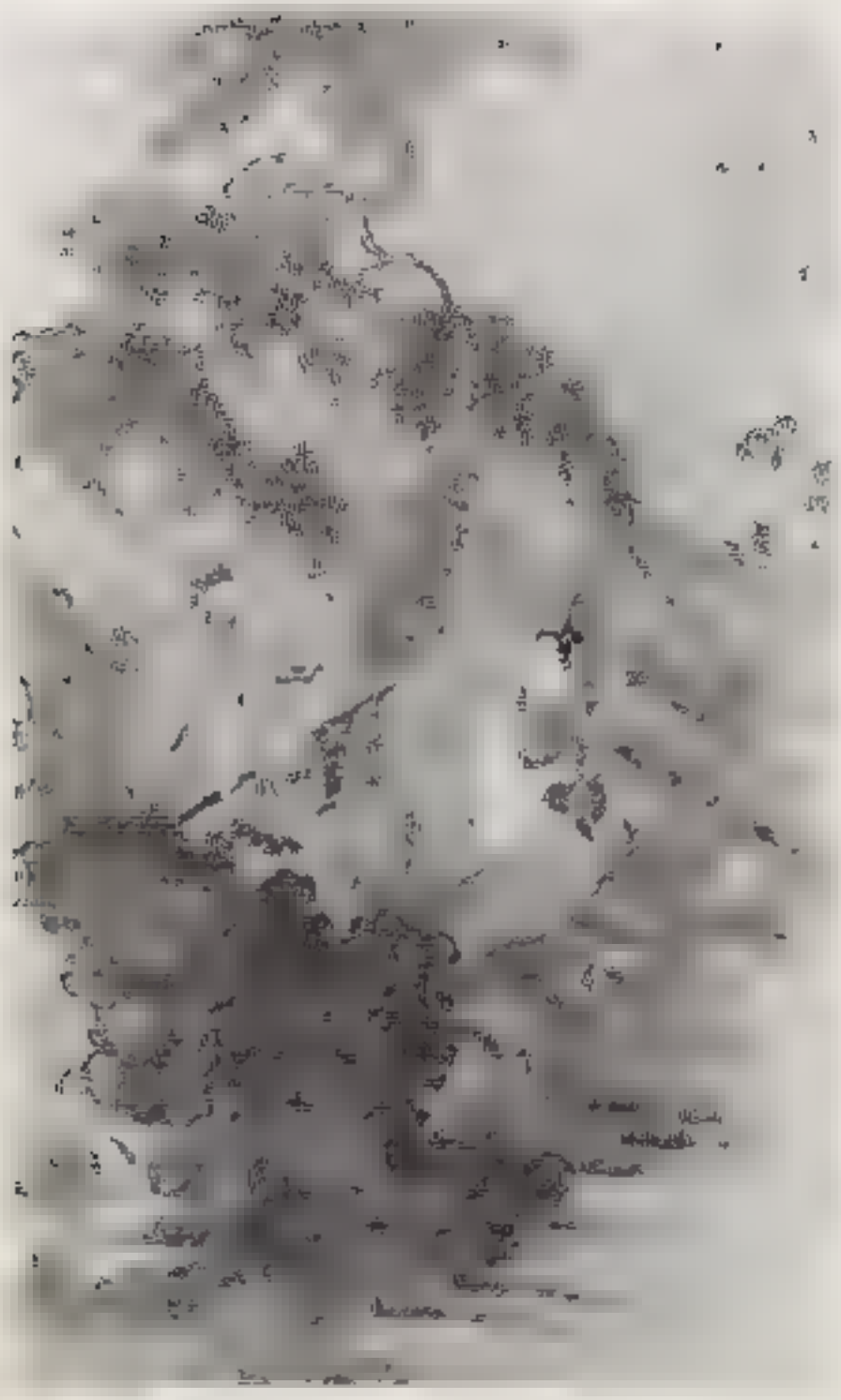
Shen's younger associate Wen Zhengming (1470–1559) became the [illegible] of the Suzhou School as it was known, owing to [illegible] family relatives and followers. Wen's approach [illegible] made a couple of [illegible] and [illegible] stations, [illegible] official [illegible]. Shen Zhou spent [illegible]

[illegible] of painting Pine Trees and [illegible] (1433) began in Beijing as a pictorial remembrance of his Suzhou life. Though more [illegible] than Shen's work, the painting [illegible] a park [illegible] grove of pine trees in the lower portion of the scroll. The upper half of the picture is given over to a solitary figure gazing at a waterfall which [illegible] against a [illegible] of smooth [illegible] extrudes of the boulder-strewn peaks. The landscape combines personal [illegible] and [illegible] with points of [illegible] in the branches and waterfall that reflect the highly [illegible] of [illegible].

Wen Zhengming was also a superb calligrapher. His most powerful works are large-character [illegible] of the [illegible] and [illegible] compositions of Yan Zhenqing (709–785) [illegible] and [illegible] Wang Tingshi of the Northern [illegible] (1473–1527). More independent are the [illegible] calligraphic performances of his Suzhou contemporary, the bachelor and [illegible] (1470–1527). Zhu's [illegible], as in his wild cursive [illegible] Poems by Cai [illegible] (1435), [illegible] the year before his death, [illegible] speed and intensity [illegible] with [illegible] characters [illegible] and [illegible] in [illegible] fashion.







8-37 Tang Yin
1470–1524 Tao Gu
Presenting Poetry
Hanging scroll

Taipei

[illegible] Tang Yin's experience has could not be [illegible] Later commentators [illegible] the work [illegible] as a political criticism of corrupt administrators [illegible]

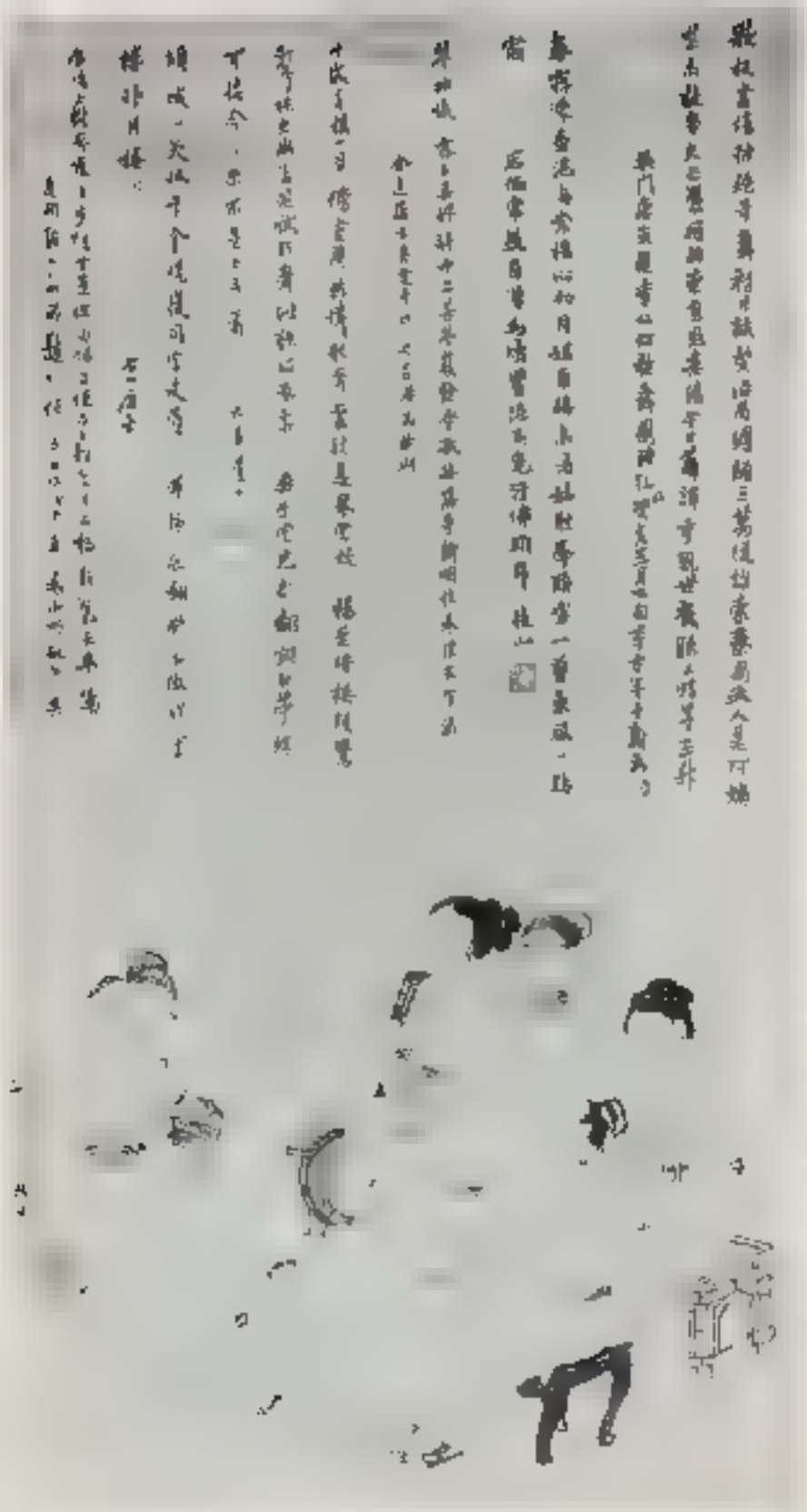
One of Zhang Chenng's protégés in Suzhou was Tang Yin (1470–1524), whose life exemplifies the complexities of an urban career. Tang was a prodigy in scholarship and the arts, yet seemingly effortless success [illegible] has promised a brilliant career [illegible] he [illegible] his [illegible] where [illegible] a challenging situation at the national capital [illegible] Beijing and [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] his [illegible]

[illegible] and literary compositions such as [illegible] Tang Yin became a [illegible] though [illegible] based on his reputed eccentricities and reputation [illegible] exemplifying the [illegible] romantic and somewhat [illegible] indulgence in the pleasures of wine and female [illegible]

Tao Gu [illegible] was a Ming [illegible] 8-37 [illegible] embodies [illegible] contemporaries [illegible] Tang was [illegible] a [illegible] character. The [illegible] in which he [illegible] most [illegible] the [illegible] Mesan Qian [illegible] the daughter of [illegible] while on a diplomatic mission [illegible] Tang state. After presenting her with [illegible] and spring [illegible] with her. Tao [illegible] [illegible] has great emotional [illegible] The painting [illegible] the evening meal by candlelight as Tang accepts [illegible] the [illegible] placing of his poem in a garden [illegible] with [illegible] screens, landscapes and [illegible] garden [illegible] Both the setting and the [illegible] culture and [illegible] inspiration [illegible] seeing as much as they do a historical setting. Tang Yin's poem [illegible] makes the protagonist [illegible] decision explicit:

> After his nightly [illegible] the [illegible]
> He sits [illegible] has [illegible] a short poem
> [illegible] has been the emissary [illegible]
> [illegible] when again we met
>
> translation from Pleasuring the Poet, p. 383

Tang Yin responded to the urban marketplace in [illegible] ways, like his [illegible] Zhou, when he produced many large landscape and figure paintings in a fluent version of the Song and



[illegible]

In texts as prefaces and colophons for [illegible] by a recurring [illegible] what became [illegible] of [illegible]

[illegible] with a prefabricated network of renowned and [illegible]

Culture and its material [illegible] were clearly [illegible] and of urban environment, and [illegible] active c. 1465–c. 1509, was [illegible] and [illegible]

[illegible] the connoisseur [illegible]

[illegible] ways that problems [illegible] the antique [illegible]

[illegible] furnishing and an object [illegible] of elite culture, since the objects depicted also evoke the polite accomplishments of music and chess, in addition to the artist's calligraphy and painting.

Another work from this urban milieu offers the more direct pleasures of erotic entertainment for at least vicarious inspection. The hanging scroll of male patrons [illegible] enjoying the charms [illegible] known as [illegible] entertainment dispenses with the usual genteel fictions of presenting

contemporary writer of Jiaxing as famous beauties from the past or as anonymous graduates. This is a historical figure only in some years, not at the moment of painting and depicted as a doll-like wife, but remains the object of all the writers' attentions, a symbol of the disciplines. Architecture is extreme and somewhat grotesque, as the scene effects the meant that many beauties were young adolescents whose prime concerns might be over or suddenly [illegible] [illegible] avenues. The [illegible] pleasure seeker [illegible] was as much a part of urban culture as literary gatherings and general [illegible] in the later Ming and Qing periods, but it was seldom dominated as or [illegible] as it is here. The artist Wu Wei (1459–1508) was another educated professional like Tang Yin and both Tang and the calligrapher Zhu Yunming were among those who [illegible] the painting and [illegible] and drinking and [illegible] his career [illegible] decorum. Wu spent his career [illegible] between the imperial palaces in Nanjing and service as a court painter in Beijing. Like Tang Yin, he [illegible] the rise of a somewhat bohemian [illegible] in which talent was the supreme virtue [illegible] never [illegible] indulgent or eccentric behavior. Wu Wei, for example, supposedly appeared drunk and [illegible] before the imperial [illegible] where he quickly won [illegible] generosity but [illegible] with [illegible] performance of stylized and sincere [illegible].

The [illegible] another Suzhou professional painter, Qiu Ying (c. 1495–1552), [illegible] the ways that [illegible] overlapped categories of patronage and performance. Qiu was a [illegible] painter with no evidence of education or aspirations as a literary man or calligrapher. Nonetheless, he was admired by and associated with eminent men of letters such as Wen Zhengming. In the [illegible] of his extraordinary talents [illegible] painting. Much of his painting was devoted to subjects found also in the art of the literati, such as figures in landscapes, scholars in gardens, listening to music, or engaging in artistic and literary pursuits. Qiu's paintings were, however, much more [illegible] than those of his literati [illegible] painting that [illegible] the [illegible] classic works and [illegible] the [illegible] personal qualities of high [illegible] atmospheric [illegible] Suzhou [illegible] Xuanze [illegible] 1529–54) [illegible] assembled a [illegible] collection as an outgrowth of his business [illegible] Xiang had [illegible] many [illegible] works in his collection and his most lavish commission [illegible] commercial atmosphere of this side of the [illegible] [illegible] Spring Morning in the Han Palace (illustration 8.39), which draws on its [illegible] on many [illegible] Tang works [illegible] contains anti-historical references, though of a much more direct [illegible] the son [illegible] associated with [illegible] painting with a subject centered in palace life and having [illegible] episodes quoting old court painting, but in a spirit [illegible] from both [illegible] painting. Qiu renders instead an urban fantasy of palace life [illegible] in marble and [illegible] exotic plants and peacocks in which palace women move about in a [illegible] world of [illegible] and adventures. The palace halls open up to the viewer in alternating projecting and receding bays like so many shopfronts on an urban street. Quotations from surviving old works such as Zhou Fang's [illegible] Han Xuan (see fig. 7.23 above) abound. In one scene, a [illegible] portrait of works [illegible] with his dishes of pigments beside him, painting a portrait of an empress or imperial consort, and a lowing the viewer to compare the likeness with the figure of the subject. The painter seems a surrogate for Qiu Ying, offering [illegible] glimpses of the secrets of palace life [illegible] practice, while subordinating himself to the task of skillful [illegible] and to the judgments of his patrons.

ART SYSTEMS AND CIRCULATIONS: LATE MING TO MIDDLE QING

A MAJOR POLITICAL [illegible] 250-year period straddling the late Ming and the early to middle Qing [illegible] 1400 [illegible] 1644 the Ming regime [illegible] a decline marked by factional competition, powerful eunuchs, and vicious factional struggles among bureaucrats all [illegible] interested in a rebel Ming general and subsequently the ethnically distinct regime of the Manchus. The Manchus, descendants of the Jurchen rulers of the North Chinese state of the Song, established their rule in the face of a refugee Southern Ming regime and substantial continuing resistance and rebellions based in southern China that lasted in various forms until 1683. Some of the consolidation took the form of bloody campaigns against Ming loyalist cities such as Nanjing and nearby Yangzhou, in which tens of thousands of soldiers and civilians were slaughtered [illegible] culminating in the death of the last Ming pretender in the Chinese province of Yunnan in the far southwest in 1661.

This dramatic period of resistance, suppression, and continued resentment against the Manchus by their Chinese subjects has colored our understanding of the mid-seventeenth-century Ming/Qing transition as an epochal moment of rupture. In addition, the style of Qing culture, with its emphasis on central control, orthodoxy, and system in both the political and the artistic arenas, was notably different from the fragmentation and individualism, and experimental tenor of the late Ming.

The long 17th century in China [illegible] as our primary basis for organization, however, there were important [illegible] which first and foremost a period of great prosperity and population growth during which China again became a major world economic and political power. Even with the interruptions caused by increased death rates during the decades of the Manchu conquest, China experienced a steady population growth [illegible] and 300 [illegible] late eighteenth century. Trade and commerce [illegible] the emergence of new regional market centers and new urban and regional centers of prosperity. Southern Anhui Province and the city of Yangzhou both in southeastern China are notable examples where important activity is illustrated. [illegible] graphic [illegible] and painted [illegible] accompanied [illegible] concentrations [illegible]

[illegible] Prosperity Age (1750–92) [illegible] overview of Suzhou painted by the Qing court artist Xu Yang in 1759, incorporates many prominent features of late Ming painting by Qing artists. The bird's-eye viewpoint and panoramic sweep of the handscroll, more than 10 feet long, are reminiscent of the Spring Festival on the River scroll from the Song era (see [illegible] 7.3 above), which itself was copied, with updated architecture, [illegible] several times during the Qing. Both works emphasize the urban prosperity, with views of streets, shops, boat traffic, and the urban populace. Such

4.1 Anon., Beauty Before [illegible] Qing, 8th century. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

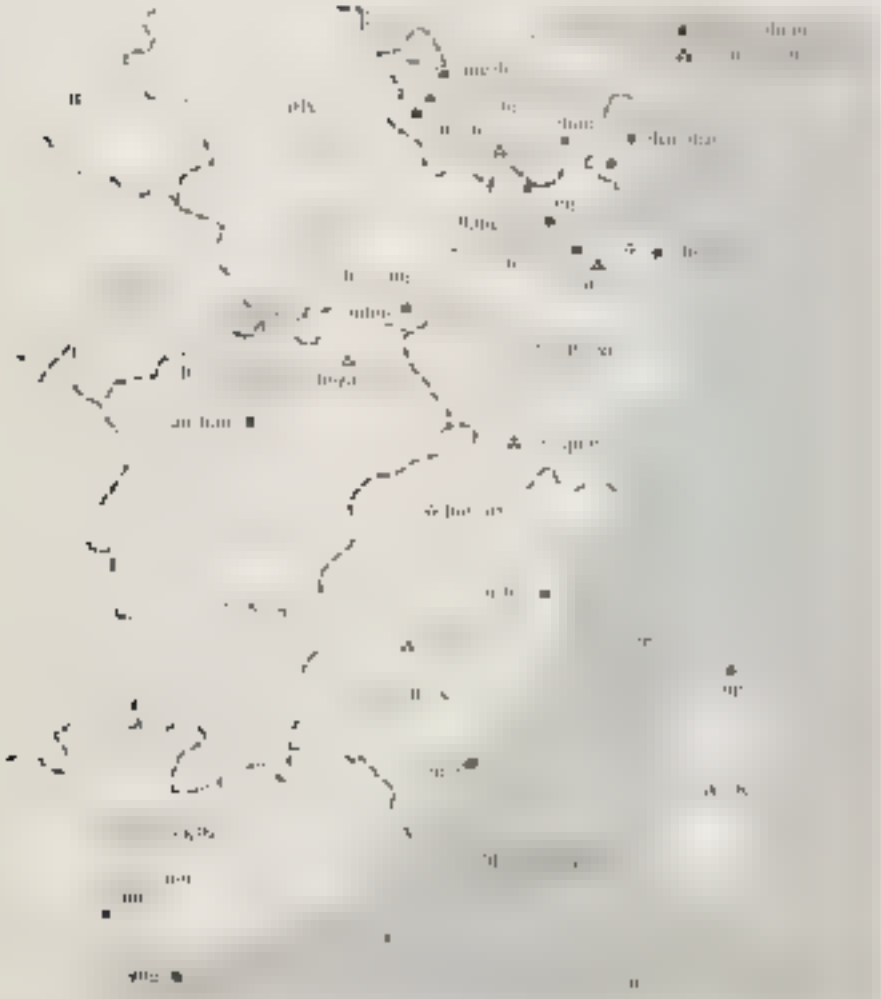
[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

paintings make implicit ideological claims for the state as well as the commercial administration of its subjects. The Manchus. The artist Xu Yang [illegible] was a kind of court painter of such talented manner that he [illegible] the [illegible] fifteen-hundred-and-twenty-eight emperor [illegible] imperial court of the south and was the [illegible] court painter. The scenes of his scroll reproduced were houses or [illegible] with boats crowding the waters and [illegible] gazing into the open shop fronts [illegible] even the city walls. D[illegible] boats and the receding lines [illegible] in the upper right distance belong to a complex of [illegible] pictorial devices [illegible] in [illegible] The overview of [illegible] suggests an interest in centralized control. Surveillance over the citizens of [illegible] with sustained tenacity [illegible] complex systems of transport, circulation of goods and commerce. Close supervision was characteristic of [illegible]

Southeast Asia



governmental and artistic policy [illegible] the [illegible] of officials in the censorship of [illegible] expression.

Much of the growth in trade during the late Ming and early Qing periods was international as China became increasingly [illegible] global economic systems. With the establishment of trading emporia by Europeans in such places as Goa, Macao, Manila, Batavia and Nagasaki, Japan, showing the intense maritime exploitation of shipping routes known from the European point of view as the Age of Discovery, China had access to [illegible] markets and imports which shipped vast quantities of [illegible] and [illegible] to Europe and other regions. [illegible] imported [illegible] raw materials and foodstuffs as well as silver from Spanish South American colonies via the Philippines. Trade also introduced New World food crops such as corn, potatoes, and peanuts [illegible]. The free flow of silver from the New World, with periodic interruptions caused by geopolitical events, contributed to [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] the [illegible] of scientific [illegible] paintings and photos (see Fig. 17 below) as well as [illegible] works such as [illegible]

European conventions of representation was episodic, but by the mid-eighteenth century the Qing painters in [illegible] European painters and architectural designs in chinoiserie decorations, and a well-established genre [illegible]

[illegible] wall paintings [illegible] +3 below) [illegible]

[illegible] Western science [illegible] of an [illegible] machine in the [illegible] of the [illegible] political photos [illegible]

[illegible] and wash [illegible] image of China beyond its north [illegible] interest for the European Age of [illegible] [illegible] established [illegible] systems of civil service in the West [illegible]

Publishing abundantly in this era were genres such as historical and literary texts, manuals on [illegible] and technical systems of production, including the first illustrated treatises on [illegible] and elaborate descriptions of [illegible] ceramic [illegible]. Qing culture was systematic in a broader intellectual sense, which was [illegible] of compilation and classification—bibliographies, dictionaries, and encyclopedias among others—sponsored by the imperial court. Art circulation has [illegible] the basis of the movement of art and [illegible] of goods at local, regional, and international levels. Circulation also implies negotiation of styles and [illegible] between different artworks and [illegible] and [illegible] of knowledge about art and standards of taste between social groups.

WOODBLOCK ILLUSTRATION

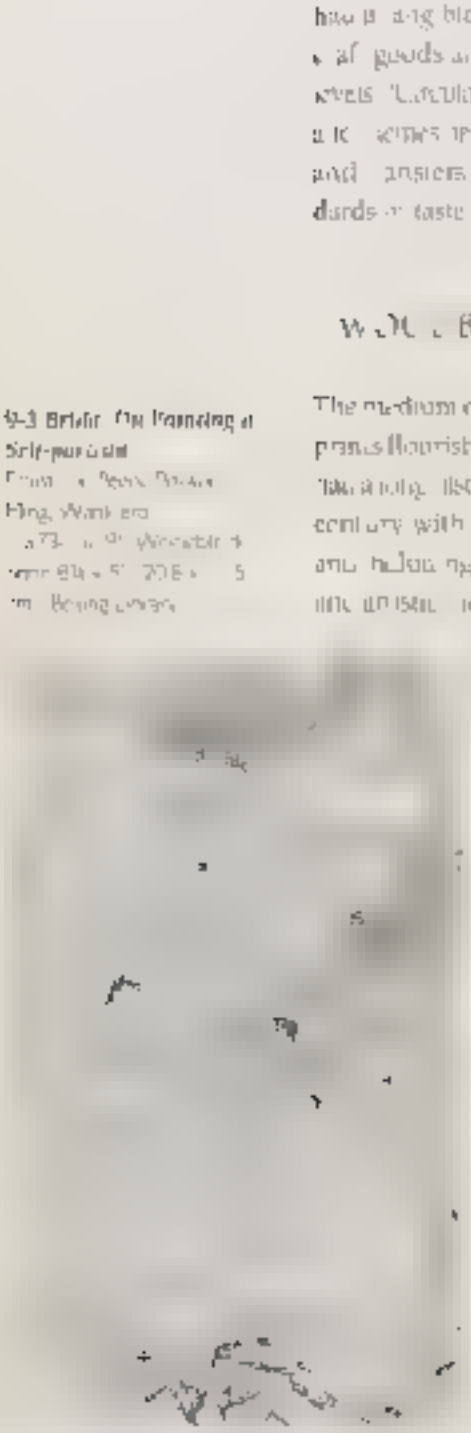
The medium of books illustrated with woodblock prints flourished in this era. Print images of [illegible] in China, beginning in the ninth century with illustrated Buddhist sutras, [illegible] and including illustrated treatises on antiquarian and [illegible] in the Song and Yuan periods. Many illustrated editions of drama, Buddhist sutras, and [illegible] books were published in the Yuan and early/middle Ming periods. The last century of the Ming saw both an increased volume of illustrated editions and a greater variety and sophistication of pictorial devices and techniques, including multicolored prints. Publishing was a business here as anywhere else, and late Ming print illustrations reflect a wider commercial culture as well as a broader literate culture with [illegible] works of [illegible] and drama, encyclopedias, catalogues, guides and manuals, including guides to particular [illegible] and [illegible]. The broadening market and success of illustrated books attracted the participation of major painters as print designers.

These were only one facet of a diverse image industry, ranging from single sheet popular New Year's prints and crude yet lively cheap editions of plays to sophisticated editions illustrated by family studios of specialist block cutters and designers working in distinctive styles that show great ingenuity and skill.

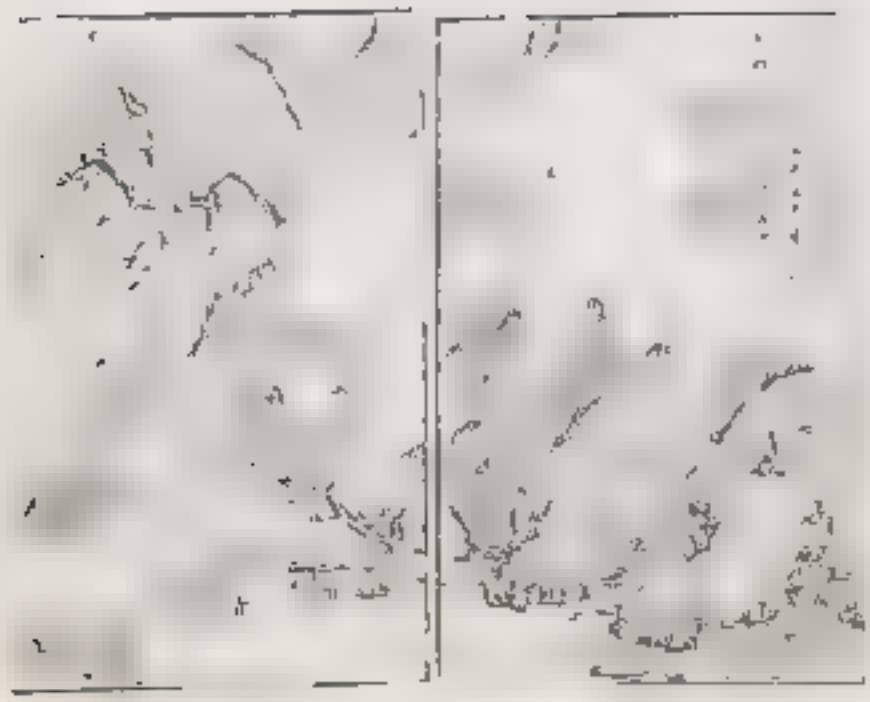
Woodblock prints have exemplary status in the leading texts of late Ming and early Qing aesthetic theory. They were products of commercial ventures with secondary centers in the southeast, Anhui, Fujian, Nanjing, and Suzhou, but original in a wider circuit of commerce and travel. Prints intersected with many media and traditions, including drama, fiction, and painting, increasingly available to a more widely educated and appreciative public whose cultural skills were aided by published guides and manuals of taste. Such publications were part of a trend toward a systematic cultural knowledge that extended from independent publishers in the late Ming to the great imperial projects of the Qing court. Publishing was a [illegible] that [illegible] connected to exchanges between different areas of society and culture and made the late Ming and early Qing eras when the court, urban, and scholarly spheres were all [illegible] and internationally [illegible]. Other popular themes for print illustration included love stories and tales of heroism, which reflect an emerging concern with themes of human feeling and psychological [illegible].

Among the most popular dramas of the period was *The Peony Pavilion*, written around 1600 by the playwright Tang Xianzu, a contemporary of Shakespeare. The story illustrates the power of love and of the young heroine Du Liniang, who dies after she is resurrected by the imagination of her lover, inflamed in his desire by the image of a scroll portrait she had painted. The print illustration of the portrait scene, in which the [illegible] images of Du Liniang and her portrait image appear [illegible] the same reality status (Fig. 9-3) conveys the confusion of reality and illusion which lies at the heart of the drama. This intermingling of the real and

9-3 Bridal Chamber Painting, Scroll-painting
Ming, Wanli era
[illegible]



[illegible] Ming [illegible] and life. However much he plays [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]



9.5 Wang Gai (1645–c. 1710), *Landscape in the Jiedzi Yuan Manner*

[illegible] Polychrome woodblock print, [illegible] × 45 cm.

Painting and Calligraphy

means of disseminating personal knowledge to a broadening audience. The Mustard Seed Garden Manual was reprinted and revised many times in China and Japan. It included sections on landscapes, birds and flowers, symbolic plants and human figures among other subjects. Prints are reduced down to the level of individual brush strokes or individual motifs, but some are selected or enhanced by

and the transition from private studio sketchbooks to publicly accessible manuals. Beginning with [illegible] first edition in [illegible], the manual was revised and supplemented in many cities in China and Japan over later decades and centuries, adding sections on symbolic plants, flowers and birds, portraits and figures among other subjects, and becoming one of the most widely used compilations of painting techniques, consistent with trends in Jiedzi culture towards more emphatic systematic classification of [illegible] techniques down to the level of codified voluntary patterns, trees and branch structures and even strokes for mountains and earth surfaces using semi-metaphorical terminology such as axe-cut and raindrop texture strokes of Chinese painting criticism. An array of component elements could be reconstructed and varied in fashionable artists' styles and in compositions [illegible]. There are parallels also in the 'practical learning' movement in the same period, which resulted in many published compilations that could be used for instruction. The Mustard Seed Garden Manual focuses in an [illegible] historical and technical tone but served similar purposes as an encyclopedia of types and techniques. This approach and the woodblock printed [illegible] had an [illegible] on the production of painting, as artists composed works from ready-made other graphic components

LITERATI PAINTING AND CALLIGRAPHY

Another arena in which issues of memory and systematic approach merged in late Ming art was in the painting and calligraphy of the literati. We have used [illegible] as an all-purpose designation for educated artists, but the specific term translating the Chinese [illegible] may [illegible] a wide currency in the later Ming period. Artists and critics used the term to emphasize the literary accomplishments of a self-described group and as a point of distinction from those with different values. Thus the Ming literati claimed the scholar–official artists of the Song and the [illegible] as their ancestors, but distinctions between the eras are still meaningful. As we have seen, Song scholar–official art sought to explore the poetic potential of painting, while Yuan–Ming amateurs emphasized orality and personalization of painting. The late Ming literati promoted an anti-historical program of approved models for painting and a method that acknowledged [illegible] as a basis for innovation.

The literati approach could mean many forms of painting, saved from the pure conventionality of the painting manuals only by the idiosyncrasies of individual calligraphic brushwork. There was certainly an element of defensiveness around the literati movement, stating that an array of [illegible] group correctness in a period when education, including education about art, was becoming more widely accessible to non-elite groups. The literati artists or professional artists [illegible] painters, and even on contemporary Suzhou school artists who were professionalized and commercialized [illegible] scholarly amateur styles should be seen in that light.

Dong Qichang (1555–1636), chiefly famous today as the first theorist of literati painting, had a career as a high governmental official in the late Ming, interspersed with long periods of retirement that protected him from the dangerous and sometimes fatal factional struggles at court. Starting from a modest family background, he amassed a large fortune and an enviable collection. Much of his art was dispersed after

a popular uprising against its tyrannic exactions of wealth and status had led to a lowering of his estate in 1637. The pattern of his life, showing a rise against a background of dramatic changes in economic status, his long struggle and class conflict, indicates that art was an integral part of which he formulated his approach to art.

The Northern and Southern schools developed in the mid-seventeenth century. Dong Qichang and his associates as a reaction against practices of the earlier painters' societies and academies, division of labor, prolific and unsophisticated campes and seeks a canon that was often classical in its politics and personalities. The leaders of the Southern School included painters and critics, painters of the Tang and Song and educated amateurs such as the Yuan literati masters such as Ni Zhan and Shen Zhou (see p. 8-30 and 8-34 above). The Northern School included academic and professional painters (see p. 8-4 above). Thus in one interpretation of the system, it could have been education and class, but the theory was less clear-cut than it first appears. Certain types of painters such as imperial retainers (see p. 7-[illegible] above) and educated urban painters such as Tang Yin (see p. 8-37 above) [illegible] certainly [illegible] their camps. The Northern and Southern categories were not primarily geographical but were borrowed from Chan Buddhist distinctions between Northern gradualism and Southern sudden enlightenment. This kind of intermingling of Buddhist, Daoist and literary discourse was also typical of the late Ming. The theory in some respects served as a memory device, including Dong Qichang's own expertise with old paintings, [illegible] other [illegible].

Dong Qichang's paintings suggest a parallel engaging even a resolve which [illegible] including memory and [illegible] experience, structure and experimentation. His version of the Qing Bian Mountains (no. 9-6) is closely comparable to the structure of the Yuan painter Wang Meng's rendering of the subject (see p. 8-31 above) which Dong Qichang owned in a time. The departures from the original are just as noticeable as we might expect from someone who disdained direct copying and sought instead a truth modeled on an original structure. Dong Qichang carries the spatial disorientation and signature of Wang Meng's painting much further with rocks that burst forward in heavy masses blended with seemingly incompatible flat strips that plunge

4-6 Dong Qichang
(1555–1636), Qing Bian Mountains

Orthodoxy and the Fate of Literati Painting

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] somewhat [illegible] that [illegible] Wang Yuanqi's [illegible] the [illegible] qualities of wealth [illegible] refined taste found in the image of the [illegible] scholarly poet-painter. [illegible] above but with a leaner sense of [illegible] However, strongly [illegible] for the rainbows and lakes.

[illegible] one of Wang Yuanqi's contributions to the Qing's systematic approach [illegible] was his editorship of the *Peiwen Zhaiyun Encyclopedia of Calligraphy and Painting*, sponsored by the Kangxi court. This is a massive compendium of monographs, descriptions and theories and calligraphic texts, more a cut-and-paste [illegible] than original scholarship. Its use [illegible] as a source book for quotations, like the painting manuals of the period, [illegible] Wang's more original painting theory is systematic in another way. Instead of Dong Qichang's concern with artistic lineages [illegible] emphasizes an abstract analysis of landscape painting in [illegible] complementary elements and rhythms, rising and falling, opening and closing. This theory bears something in common with geomantic analyses of the underlying forces of physical landscape [illegible] also recalls the Yuan painter Huang [illegible] Wang's understanding of landscape painting as primarily a construction [illegible] brush and ink (see page 305 above).

While Kangxi paintings can be [illegible] extremely powerful structures, [illegible] element. A long horizontal painting in the Tang poet-painter Wang Wei's famous *Wangchuan villa* commission [illegible] landscapes has most succeeded [illegible] Wang Yuanqi uses complementary warm and cool pigments, ochres and blues, in shapelessness that hardly [illegible] between surface and [illegible] dimensional readings (fig. 9-8). The upper [illegible] planes under [illegible] tension, [illegible] very [illegible] of early pictorial devices [illegible] Wang Wei [illegible] the eighth emperor. Large reserve areas of clouds and water are shaped by surrounding [illegible] forms as flat shapes, but ambiguous [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] abstraction in [illegible] the environment of court [illegible] painting was one direction [illegible] painting, the other was [illegible] [illegible] painting was the [illegible] product for sale among [illegible] fate [illegible] of [illegible] the eighteenth-century Jiangzhou artist Zheng Xie (see page 345 below). Thus by the Qing [illegible] half [illegible] of [illegible] as a whole [illegible] independence from court styles and

[illegible] and [illegible] or private [illegible] are broadly [illegible] imperative. What remains [illegible] the original impulse is largely the assertion [illegible] educated artists and the embellishment of paintings with texts. This was enough to sustain a specifically literati mode of painting, half maintained energy through the nineteenth century and indeed down to our own day.

ARTS OF DESIRE AND MEMORY

The late Ming was a period of notable freedom from constraint and of experimentation in [illegible] and manners as in the economic sphere. The [illegible] romance, desire and sensuality figured prominently in drama and [illegible] including the [illegible] illustrated classic erotic novel *Jin Ping Mei* [illegible] *The Golden Lotus* / *The Plum in the Golden Vase*. The Qing regime still claimed promulgated much more stereotyped cultural standards, including censorship of drama in its texts, but the compilation of erotic and fantasy albums continued unabated by such masters of [illegible] such as Pu Songling (1640–1715) and Yuan Mei (1716–1798), and the Qing court sponsored its own picture of albums of images of female recluses (see Fig. [illegible] above). Themes of memory took many forms in this period, with its heavy emphasis on personal and dynastic memory in Dong Qichang's late Ming approach to literati painting. Another aspect of the interplay of personal experience and history was the painting and calligraphy of the loyalist subjects of the Ming who were [illegible] through the Qing conquest. Elements of belatedness, regret, nostalgia and grief were blended in their work.

All of this suggests a strong psychological component in late Ming and early Qing literary and calligraphic arts. Such themes were by no means unprecedented in earlier paintings, as we have seen with erotic art in the Song era (see Fig. 7.23 above), and the prominence of memories and personal associations in the literati painting of the Yuan and early Ming. What does seem new in the late Ming period and beyond is the complexity of emotions that are conveyed. Guilt, ambivalence and irony are implicated in the [illegible] relations of the [illegible] and the [illegible] and writings in ways that seem comparable to a modern sense of inner conflict and self-reflection. The sheer [illegible] of the period in which artists among others were forced to play many roles and confront the discrepancies between traditional ideals and contemporary realities surely contributed to this phenomenon.

Although the inner world of memory and desire may seem a long way from the relatively impersonal relations of the systematic production and [illegible] of goods and art objects, there are some important images [illegible] one of the [illegible] gate hero of *The Golden Lotus* [illegible] merchant Ximen Qing, reveals how immoderation and excess in the economic sphere of accumulating silver currency and goods carries over into desire, but overspending and gluttony in domestic and erotic life should [illegible] many of the memories that have to be [illegible] as [illegible] paintings and writings were of more widely public, historical events.

Chen Hongshou (1598–1652) had a varied career in [illegible] as a professional painter and designer of woodblock prints. Based on his disappointing period of service in the Yuan court, Chen had aspirations both for the status of a literatus and for meaningful official service, but the realities of life as an urban professional painter were less exalted. He lived through the Manchu conquest of the Ming and took pen names such as "Old and Foolish" and "Regret of Monk" to express his loyalties to the Ming and his sense of guilt for not playing an effective role in preventing this catastrophe. However, he seems never seriously to have considered [illegible] active military resistance or loyalist [illegible] chosen by many of his contemporaries.

Chen's Lady Xuanwen [illegible] Tuning Instruments on the [illegible] (Fig. 9.10) was a picture made for his painting on her sixtieth birthday. Staged as an elaborate tableau, [illegible] it implies a contrast between an ancient hereditary woman scholar teaching a company of male students from a raised platform, and a learned senior female relative. The contrasting [illegible] modes, contemporary and historical, is echoed in the brilliantly

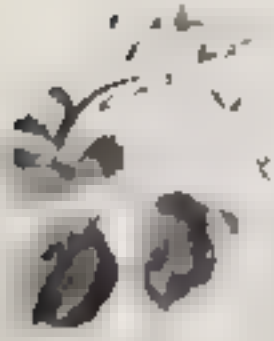
[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]



[illegible]

Shen Zhongshu (1494–1563), Lady Xiuqiao Jan Giving Birth to Her Twelfth Dragon

[illegible] gathering [illegible] views of Wuyuan mountain [illegible] decorated with [illegible] patterns. In [illegible]

the main [illegible] and the interwingled social [illegible] looking and being seen are all suggested [illegible] and [illegible] these notions of late Ming writers [illegible] of such as Tiger Hill during the Mid [illegible] Festival [illegible] Yuan Hongdao [illegible] 1568–1610 [illegible]

[illegible] the Mid-Autumn Festival [illegible] Wednesday [illegible] the day [illegible] shoulder to shoulder. From [illegible]

[illegible] make up. They spread out [illegible] [illegible] Wonderful

Susanne Fraeulein Landscapes [illegible]

Zhang Dai (1597–1684?) [illegible] new [illegible] report of Hangzhou's West Lake at the Mid-Summer Festival on the [illegible] [illegible] the

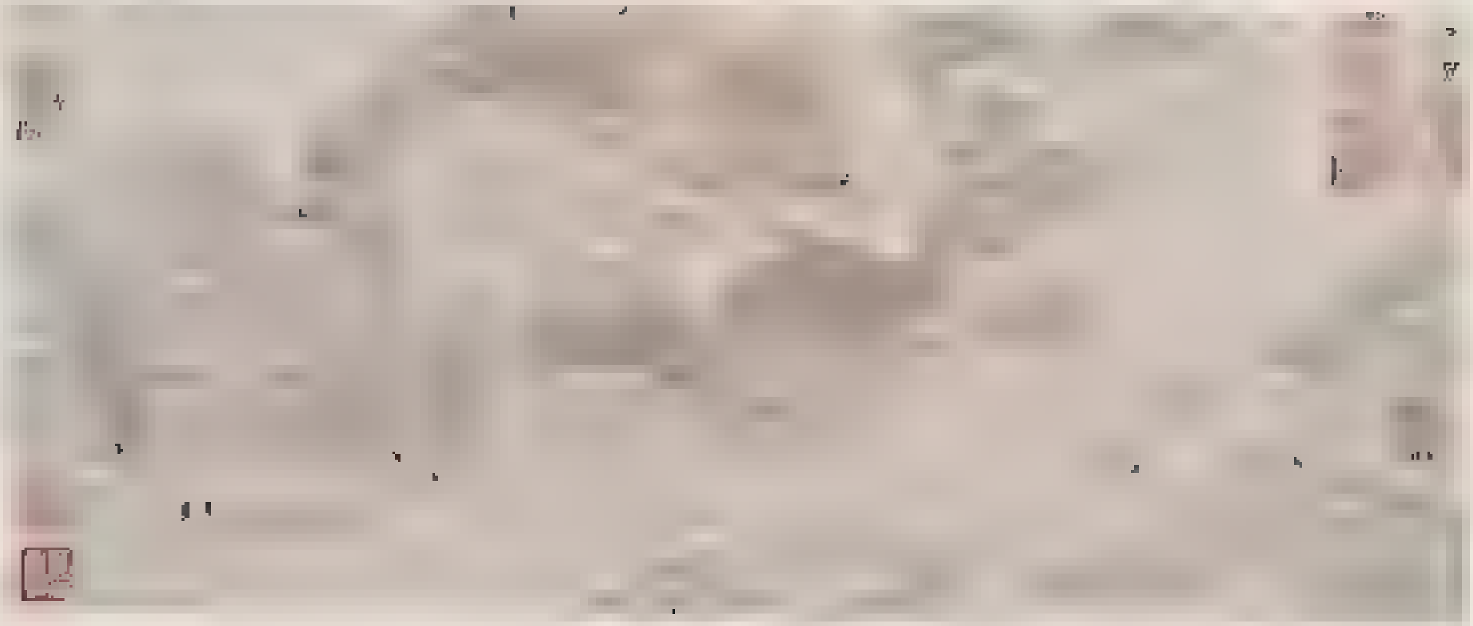
[illegible] except those who [illegible] [illegible] wearing

[illegible] dress enjoying magnificent banquets under [illegible] lights [illegible]

[illegible] observe one another. They [illegible] [illegible] hung the moon, though [illegible] never could see [illegible] They themselves are worth watching.

Strassberg, Fraeulein Landscapes, p. 342

The richest evocation of late Ming de[illegible] in the novel. The Golden Lotus, which was [illegible] illustrated with woodblock prints during the late Ming and later with a set of one hundred and [illegible] paintings. The latter are unsigned but are probably the work of an early Qing court painter such as Gu Jiuxiang, whose sketchbooks are discussed below (see fig. 27 below). Each illustrates one chapter episode from the novel with particular attention to the material [illegible] and surroundings of the characters. Painted and carved



[illegible] Wing [illegible] portraits [illegible]

[illegible] The [illegible] The [illegible] image [illegible]

[illegible] is shown [illegible] to keep [illegible] in a [illegible] She is being interrogated and [illegible] by her angry lover Ximen Qing, who suspects her of having had a love affair while he was out of town. The seated woman is a maidservant who is supporting her mistress' false claim [illegible] cence, but whose mere presence only deepens [illegible] humiliation. The sudden shift in emotion from affection to angry [illegible] symptomatic as well of the instability of [illegible] living [illegible] ruled by desire and [illegible]

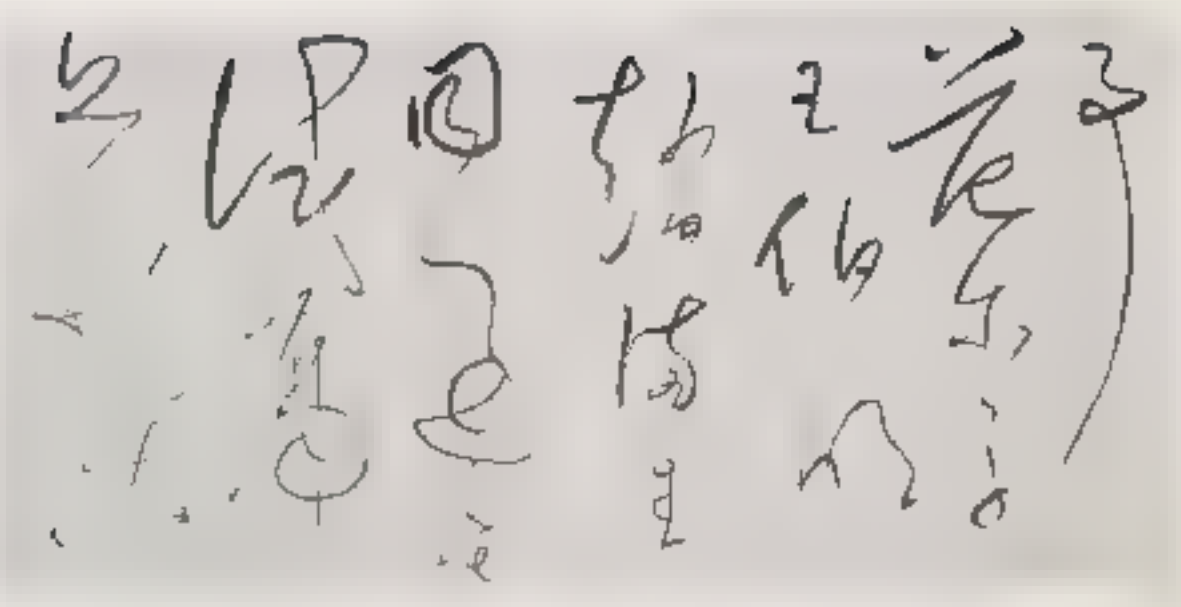
The association of erotic desire and luxury objects is continued in later Qing color images of beautiful women in lavishly furnished interiors

[illegible] Bi ming [illegible] than the [illegible] ies by hand [illegible] for display

[illegible] 1628 [illegible]

[illegible]

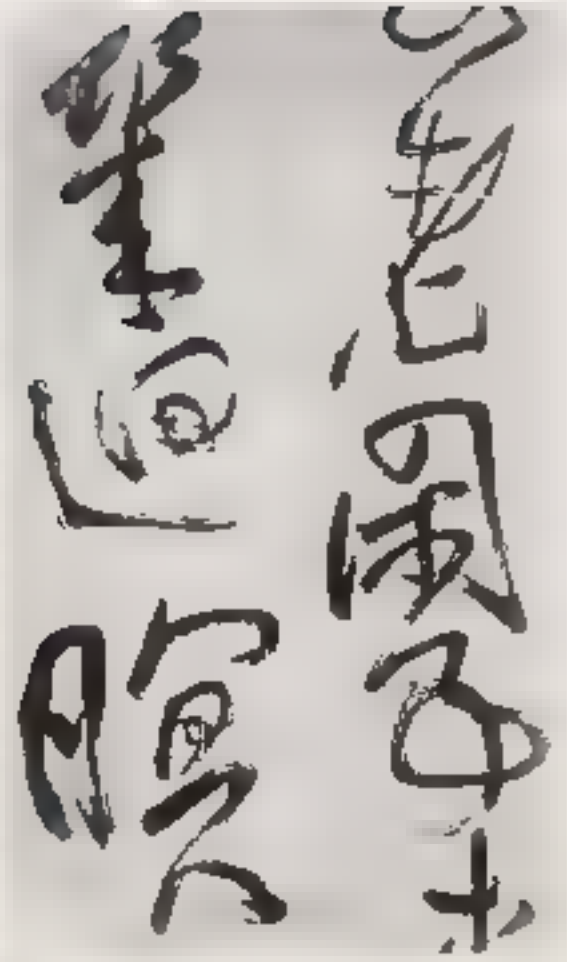
Q. Zhang Chenbang
1933–[illegible]
Calligraphy in Running
[illegible]



Loyalist Arts of Memory

The late Ming was a time of luxury and unprecedented desire, but it also fostered anxieties about eroding traditional values among contemporary observers. But for those looking back, from the mid-to-late Qing, the late Ming was the source of nostalgia, remembrance and a sense of loss. Mince somberly regards a gendered late status of loyalists or "remnant subjects," who had been born under and owed allegiance to the fallen Ming regime but were born under the Qing. Their relationship with the past was compounded by the dramatic examples of those loyalists who had chosen suicide rather than submit to the Manchus, and by the terrible slaughters that occurred when cities in the southeast, such as Nanjing and Yangzhou, fell to the invaders. Many were difficult decisions between service, accommodation, or outright resistance to the Manchu regime. After a transitional period that lasted almost a generation, there was widespread accommodation to the Manchu rulers, who were able administrators and energetic patrons of traditional Chinese culture. But many writers also published sophisticated associations with the works of loyalist scholars in their work. For those with close connections to the fallen regime, however, the dangers were, because the Manchus were largely fearful of resistance and Ming loyalists were conveniently [illegible] for several decades after the conquest in 1644, and were severe or their suppression of potentially seditious expression.

The art of writing on hand was so deeply charged with cultural implications that calligraphy became an important vehicle for political [illegible] did not necessarily depend on the content of the calligraphic text. Certain modes of writing were associated with political [illegible] and have conveyed the authority of the ruling regime. Skill in writing was the most common cultural talent in the educated elite, those trained in political [illegible] whether [illegible] or not, and the texts they copied out in [illegible] studies have called [illegible] ideologies through both content and writing styles. For such [illegible] texts and [illegible] was so deeply [illegible] calligraphic [illegible] could be conveyed in a variety of ways. The content was of course important, but overt political statements could be very dangerous during a period like the Qing, when writing of [illegible] kinds was censored and the production of such genres as [illegible] histories of the Ming was a seditious offense punishable by death. Sentiments disguised in [illegible] poetic allusions or [illegible] of personal association displayed in the dedications of a calligraphic script were less direct ways of conveying messages. The calligraphic styles could indicate [illegible] political positions and historical [illegible] of certain writers. Less [illegible] style could be modulated a [illegible] in relation to other texts to position the calligrapher



4.13 Zhu Da, also known as Bada Shanren
(1626–1705), *Fish and Rocks*

[illegible]

[illegible]

family. It is from the imagery—such as a dragon, a fish, or a bird—that we can see how the painter's life is spatially distributed, where they represent an artist and another, imaginary relative, whose hopes perhaps would be thwarted [illegible] dynasty—and a world

[illegible] sometimes [illegible] behavior. There is an edge of [illegible] reference as well to many [illegible] of plants, birds, and landscapes, which are often fragmented [illegible] imagery and setting. His poems and mottos seem deliberately cryptic. In some instances, certainly, a way of masking his statements. In a few cases his work can be decoded. A handscroll of fish and rocks [illegible] includes some odd distortions—a view of fish either as seen underwater or floating in some indeterminate space, and a bulging, metamorphic rock suggest [illegible] human head. Likewise, free of [illegible] ground or context. The accompanying poems hint the wish to arrest, at youth—the artist and a relative perhaps—unable to develop into precisely dragons and recall memories of the imperial southern Ming court and the last claimants, who were Zhu Da's relatives [illegible] Ming imperial house. The world dislocations [illegible] suggest both the [illegible] and [illegible] fragments of an old, unrecapturable order.

The younger painter who was a Ming imperial [illegible] was Shitao (1642–1707). His all-or-nothing method, that is no-method, and painting based on the solitary brush stroke or primordial line was both a hermetical position set against the art-historical [illegible] but Chan/Zen Buddhism subject [illegible] is washed in [illegible] ing, revealing as the simplicity and [illegible] of the early work of his childhood. Shitao introduced his monumental paintings viewing [illegible] Mountain [illegible] layers of personal and cultural memory. As a very young child, Shitao was spirited away by a servant to escape the disasters of fast-moving struggle and invasion that led to the Manchu conquest of China. He began a wandering life as a Buddhist monk and artist, but took him eventually through most of the important urban and commercial centers of the Ming: Anhui, Nanjing, Beijing, and Shanghai. As a youth he served at the ancient Buddhist [illegible] of Mount Lu, studying religion with a political visionary Buddhist abbot.

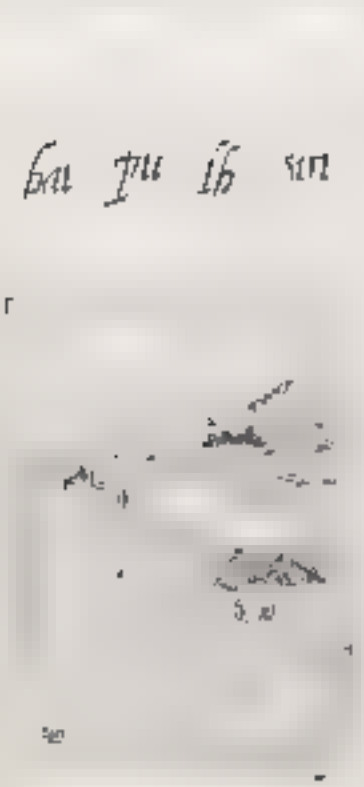
[illegible] landscape painting of Mount Lu painted [illegible] is in part a nostalgic evocation of his early [illegible]. The figure in the painting who gazes into the rolling [illegible] at the base of the waterfall is no doubt a surrogate for Shitao, engaged in acts of reminiscence as in many of his paintings. The artist's style and visual point of view are [illegible] on the cultural memory of the Northern Song monumental landscape painter Guo Xi. The grand scale, towering cliffs and effects of dynamic transformation of the Mount Lu painting do evoke qualities of Guo Xi's art, see Fig. 2 above. Shitao also [illegible] the occasion to talk about [illegible] of attributed Guo Xi paintings that he had seen and [illegible] that he was not convinced [illegible] that these to be a genuine Guo Xi. This kind of [illegible] to touch on and the desire to return to early origins and begin everything anew is central to Shitao's [illegible] and painting theory. The energy of his painting comes from its fresh conversion and [illegible] effects, and from its [illegible] composition and brushwork. In [illegible] starting over and a return to origins implied some [illegible] more than artistic originality, perhaps even a hope for restoration [illegible] the Ming regime. Shitao's focus on and [illegible] charged with Buddhist and [illegible] associations suggests such an agenda. His adversarial "no-method" likewise conveys a resistance against fa—which can be translated variously

as methods, high ideals, and laws—and could be read on both levels [illegible] Shitao's position was in some ways less singular [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] and later an orthodox [illegible] the published [illegible] [illegible] distance to both Manchu [illegible] [illegible] himself [illegible] the Qing [illegible] sought audiences with the Kangxi emperor [illegible] and he ended his career as a professional artist, subject in some degree to the discipline of commercialization, though never of outright orthodoxy.

9 [illegible] Shitao (1642–1707), Viewing the Waterfall on Mount Lu

COMMERCIAL AND DOMESTIC ARTS

The career of the artist Shitao, [illegible] with deep aristocratic roots and a complex personal agenda [illegible] history, was [illegible] [illegible] of art in the major urban centers of southeast China illustrates the strength of the [illegible] mercial culture in the late Ming and [illegible] periods. This impetus was centered in the cities and commercial regions of the southeast around the Yangzi River. Suzhou's importance as a center of silk weaving and handicraft production, Nanjing's urban prosperity, and Jingdezhen's status as the center of porcelain production were already long established by the late Ming. Other centers of art production and patronage did not emerge [illegible] the late Ming [illegible]. The regions of southern Anhui and Songjiang (near modern Shanghai) became important in the late Ming, and Yangzhou [illegible] center [illegible] as late as the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The growth of an art market, patronage, and art production characteristically accompanied rising prosperity in a city or region, but the sources of this prosperity also [illegible] the category of functional arts and craft industries. Porcelain production and textile design and weaving were large-scale industries of great economic importance regionally, nationally, and internationally; publishing, furniture manufacture, metalworking, and production of other luxury craft objects, as well as art materials such as pape



4.17 Cheng Danqing (fl. 1541–c. 1616), Chrysanthemum by Pond

Woodblock design for Mulberry Ink Cakes, Ming, 1594.

Sheet frame 34 × 38 × 2.7 cm. © The American Museum of Natural History.

and ink were fashionable luxury enterprises. While particular places became renowned for special local products and skills, the prosperity of the era in general was based on the recent expansion of goods and markets, and on people such as the merchants.

The commercialization of this period had several aspects. The first was the importance of the [illegible] industries with their economic impact that were based on the current group of technical and design skills. Another was the emergence of a wealthy merchant class and the dissemination of their tastes through art patronage. A third phenomenon was the spread of wealth more generally, giving rise to broader markets for arts and crafts and a need for published guides to taste and consumption which were themselves available for purchase. Finally, elite arts such as literati painting and calligraphy became increasingly engaged in the marketplace and commodities.

The region of southern Anhui was one of the newly emergent centers of commerce and culture in the Ming period. Many merchants operated from this region and later moved to cities such as Yangzhou, including some merchants who were able to accumulate huge fortunes. Local forest products, salt and silk were the foundation of the economy. A subset of these valuable local products were the implements of high culture: fine paper, ink cakes made from compressed pine soot, inkstones or grinding tablets, ornamental rocks for the scholars' studio, and brushes. Thus even in its commercial products, southern Anhui had links with high culture. This was complemented by a flourishing publishing industry and a notable school of woodblock engraving practitioners. The emergence of the nearby Xiu River Mountains as a famous scenic and travel destination, and the growth of a local school of painting.

An example of the intermingling of commerce and art in Anhui and the wide scope of a cultural enterprise was the Cangyang Catalogue of Pictorial Designs for Moxi and Inkstones, edited by an Anhui ink merchant at the beginning of the seventeenth century. It served some of the functions of an advertisement or sales catalogue and at the same time was a manual of popular designs across a wide range of subject matter. In addition to the editor, the catalogue drew on the talents of the painter Ding Yunpeng (1547–c. 1628) as pattern designer and Huang Ke as block carver. Ding was a prolific painter of Buddhist subjects and landscapes, while Huang was part of a family of famous woodblock engravers in the late sixteenth century and for whom we have earlier seen [illegible] shown. There were, thus, at least three recognizable brand names involved, which the catalogue had enhanced status both as the catalogue as a work of the printed page and as the ink cakes as luxury objects. The ink-cake designs were often filled in with colors, sometimes conveyed in single-block color prints in the catalogue. Most of the designs were of auspicious themes such as plants, children or rebuses of good wishes, but they included Christian themes, including the copperplate prints brought to China by the Italian Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci (1552–1610). The print of Christ and St. Peter (fig. 4.17) following an engraving by the Flemish printmaker Anton Wierix after a design by the painter Martin de Vos, combines the crisp outlines characteristic of Anhui engravers with the European elements of expression of poses, strong gestures, and deep recessions that were appropriated in such Western Chinese religious and landscape paintings. The circulation of products and images in late Ming China dissemination even to more distant lands abroad.

Another minor and kind of carrying on in Ming–Qing China involved the movement of people. Woodblock engravers originally from the Anhui school were also active in other urban centers of printing such as Nanjing, Suzhou, Hangzhou and Yangzhou. Merchants from Anhui and elsewhere also traveled widely to pursue business opportunities. Increasingly, merchants of Huizhou

[illegible] prosperous [illegible] and enterprises. Descriptive travel literature such as the essays of the notable scholar [illegible] and a large body of [illegible] graphical paintings of specific [illegible] pleasure [illegible] spring. The [illegible] of scenes of Mount Huang [illegible] Wang [illegible] early Ming [illegible] pies [illegible] The Yellow Mountains [illegible] Huangshan [illegible] of southern Anhui [illegible] shinen [illegible] Wang [illegible] hot springs [illegible] the late seventeenth century [illegible] bamboo groves [illegible] bamboo groves, but also a [illegible] associations and named scenic spots [illegible] parallel to the physical one. A notable school of painting [illegible] the early Qing years of the eighteenth century [illegible] Yellow Mountains as its primary subject was [illegible] landscape. Some of [illegible] such as Shi Tao [illegible] Wang [illegible] Anhui and in paintings of [illegible] Kuncan [illegible] with [illegible] associations as [illegible] Mountains. Others such as the [illegible] Ming [illegible] and his younger [illegible] more concerned with [illegible] Dai Benxiao [illegible] the son of a loyalist who [illegible] and started [illegible] combines both aspects in his work. A painting of the Manjusri Monastery [illegible] set against the twisted peaks and isolated pines of Yellow Mountain summits is a recognizable icon of the site and one of its primary destinations. Such paintings also serve as souvenirs for travelers to the mountains, as surrogate experiences for those unable to undertake the arduous climb. The loyalist writer Qian Qian [illegible] wrote an essay in praise of The Yellow Emperor Mountain, Huangshan, that recounts the [illegible] sights of the itinerary and culminates at the same monastery.

[illegible] Sun [illegible] 693. The Nanshan [illegible]

[illegible]

Gender relationships could be embodied in [illegible] with social and [illegible] roles [illegible] canopied beds, the central elements in sleeping [illegible], could function almost as self-contained rooms when equipped with curtains, cushions, and portable armrests and tables. Such beds were often prime components of women's dowries and [illegible] the center of the woman's domestic [illegible] and legally her possession throughout marriage. While beds are [illegible] with the addition of a surround [illegible] posts and canopy, they are often elaborately embellished with carving on [illegible] and openwork in the frame above. A canopy [illegible]

Craft Objects from the Suzhou Region

Domestic interiors also held ornamental [illegible] a variety of [illegible] functional and decorative objects for the scholar's desk, such as brush [illegible] or jade water droppers, seals and [illegible] a range of [illegible] as well as [illegible] and [illegible] was not unique to this [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] important themes in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century writing. Matters of taste and consumption were the subjects of connoisseurs' guides and handbooks, and the material comforts of life occupied many essayists. The intellectual and spiritual pleasures of leisure and retirement [illegible] new subjects, but in this period there was increased attention to ingenious inventions and devices that made daily life more convenient, efficient, or comfortable [illegible] eighteenth-century Europe and North America, when designs aimed at domestic comfort and efficiency occupied the energies of men such as Thomas Jefferson. The prosperity of late Ming and early [illegible] middle Qing China created opportunities for extravagance, but also for thoughtful efforts at improving the quality of everyday life.

The authors quoted below were affluent, educated gentlemen and amateurs in the parks of rap[illegible] Fu [illegible] was a playwright and bookseller, the publisher of the *Illustrated Garden Manual of Calligraphy and Painting* (see no. 9.5 above). His essays in *A Temporary Lodge for My Leisure* Thoughts are full of domestic details concerning interior design, clothing, food, adornment of women, and inventiveness aimed at increasing the comforts and pleasures of daily life. The latter included a heated armchair for winter and a porcelain cooling bench for summer. He also developed the "landscape window," a framed view of scenery that changed with the days and seasons like a living painting, and the "fan-shaped window" that provided pleasure-boat travelers with a changing panorama within the format of a fan painting. Shen Fu [illegible] father [illegible] was the author of the autobiographical [illegible] *Records from a [illegible]* which includes chapters on the pleasures of leisure and travel. The autobiography, [illegible] notable for the [illegible] Shen Fu's wife, Chen Yun, who is given credit for many of [illegible] ions and domestic improvements when Fu records:

[illegible] Yu on domestic architecture

[illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] one thing is true of a house. It is at very [illegible] or three [illegible] and not for winter. The [illegible] [illegible]

(Mao and [illegible] Yu, pp. 24–15)

Shen Fu on flower arranging and appreciation

Every year chrysanthemums would grow east of the fence, blooming in the autumn. I preferred to pick them and put them in vases rather than raise them in pots (see no. 9.7 above). [illegible] flowers, not an even number. Each vase should contain flowers of only a single color. The mouths of the vases should be wide so that the flowers can spread [illegible] some of the flowers should stand up gracefully, while others spread out at angles. Some should be high and some low, with a few buds in [illegible] to keep the arrangement from looking stiff and unnatural. No more than seven vases should be set on one [illegible]

(Pratt and Chiang, "The Pleasures of Leisure," in Record of a Floating Life [illegible]

Shen Fu on garden design

[illegible] wandering paths, small mountains [illegible] stone and flower plantings, try to give [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] the result [illegible] some things should be hidden and some should be [illegible] some prominent and [illegible] garden so that when a guest feels [illegible] simple door in a section [illegible] [see no. [illegible] and [illegible] above). While [illegible] from sun. As they stacked the summer sun beat down with a fierce glare in the [illegible] showed them how to make "moveable screens" out of live trees. The screens were about six or seven feet [illegible] all but two people could easily move one of them. They can be put anywhere you like, filling the windows with green shade and blocking the sun while letting a breeze through. If you make several, they can be set out in winding patterns that can be rearranged as you like; thus they are called "moveable flower [illegible]

(Six Records of a Floating Life, p. 63)

[illegible]

[illegible] in the eighteenth [illegible] accurate and most [illegible] of time site production. The demands accomplishment [illegible] these and the [illegible] suggested here be so [illegible] from the palace collection, which [illegible] brought at the [illegible]

9.26 Hexagonal baluster jar

Ceramics for Domestic Markets

[illegible] prestige and technical [illegible] published [illegible] popular and the [illegible] modes impacted on both [illegible] urban [illegible] A [illegible] with [illegible] the porcelain [illegible] industry can [illegible] a Jingdezhen [illegible] north-eastern Jiangxi Province [illegible] production [illegible] of Jingdezhen and [illegible] the [illegible] coexist with the same site making use of the [illegible] shared each [illegible]

[illegible] manufacture, production organization of production [illegible] very different wares [illegible] blue designs combined with [illegible] three or eight [illegible] more overglaze enamel colors. The decorative [illegible] vase [illegible] 9.26 [illegible] and auspicious symbols [illegible]

Porcelains produced at Jingdezhen for the [illegible] see pieces 334–35, 358) but some of the economics of production are worth noting in this context. In the mid-eighteenth century more than ten thousand people were actively involved in ceramic production at Jingdezhen [illegible] industrial scale of operation with each piece [illegible] completion [illegible] with those that were imperfect [illegible] The economic importance of porcelain production at Jingdezhen not to speak [illegible] and [illegible] technology of porcelain production was [illegible] has a trickle-down effect [illegible] prosperity, and ultimately for international p[illegible] in Europe, letters by the [illegible] Jingdezhen in 1712 provided the most detailed [illegible] These [illegible] were published a few years after the first successful manufacture of porcelain in Europe in 1709 achieved by the chemist Johann Friedrich Böttger, though made from different raw materials [illegible] first porcelain [illegible] Strong of Saxony. Pere d'Entrecolles offered detailed accounts of the local

[illegible] basis and organization of production at the porcelain kilns.

> The material of porcelain is composed of two kinds of earth, one called petuntse and the other named kaolin. The latter is strewn with corpuscles which are somewhat glittering; the former is simply white and very fine to the touch. [illegible] kaolin that fine porcelain derives its strength, and [illegible] the soft earth [illegible] the derision of a Chinese merchant during the [illegible] some years ago the English or Dutch had purchased [illegible] to make porcelain in their country, but having taken no kaolin [illegible] as they confessed afterward. [illegible] surrounded by walls [illegible] one sees [illegible] a great quantity of vases [illegible] Inside these walls live and work an infinite number of workmen [illegible] task. A piece of porcelain, when it leaves their hands to be carried to the furnace, passes through the hands of more than twenty persons. [illegible] Again when it comes off the wheel [illegible] is completely shapeless, like the top of a hat before it has been put on the shaping block. [illegible] The cup as it comes from the wheel is first handed to a second workman who is seated beneath [illegible] passed by him to a third who presses it on a mould and gives it its shape. This mould is fixed upon a kind of wheel. A fourth workman polishes the cup with a knife, especially round the rim, and makes it thin enough to be transparent; each time he scrapes it, it must be moistened or else it will break. It is surprising to see the rapidity with which the vases pass through so many different hands, and I am told that a vase that has been fired has gone through the hands of seventy workmen.
>
> From the letters of Père d'Entrecolles (Bushell, *Oriental Ceramic Art*, pp. [illegible])

Père d'Entrecolles also documents contemporary Chinese interest in antiquities and methods of forgery, as well as European prejudices against Chinese painting methods. His investigations parallel the slightly later research of Tang Ying, appointed supervisor of the imperial porcelain factory in 1728. Tang Ying spent three years in detailed study of clay, pigments, glazing, and firing, living and working alongside the potters and even [illegible] house. [illegible] Tang edited the [illegible] which includes pictures documenting the twenty major processes involved in porcelain production.

Urban Professional Painters

The cities of Suzhou and Nanjing already had active groups of professional painters in the middle Ming period around 1500. These continued as centers of professional painting in the late Ming and early Qing and were joined by the nearby [illegible] cities. As in earlier periods, a number of the Ming and Qing professional painters had some literary education, though others were more narrowly trained artisans. While in the middle Ming professional painters worked largely in technically accomplished styles related to the court academies, late Ming and Qing professional painting accommodated a wide range of styles, from decorative high technique to casual literati efforts. This suggests the impact of scholarly taste had [illegible] that educated gentlemen were pushed by economic circumstances or their own ambitions into the art marketplace.

A glimpse into the working methods of a Suzhou-based professional painter is offered by the career of Gu Jianlong (1606–1684?). Known particularly for his portraits and [illegible], Gu also worked as a court painter in Beijing during the late seventeenth century. Such links between the imperial palace ateliers and urban studios were not uncommon, as artists recruited to the capital retired or returned to hometowns and urban centers in the south. Gu may have been the artist responsible for the unsigned album discussed above (pages 320–324) [illegible] scenes from *The [illegible]* painted for the Qing [illegible] which combines [illegible] descriptions of [illegible] objects and settings (see [illegible] 21) [illegible] *Album of [illegible]*

[illegible]

[illegible] the painter [illegible]

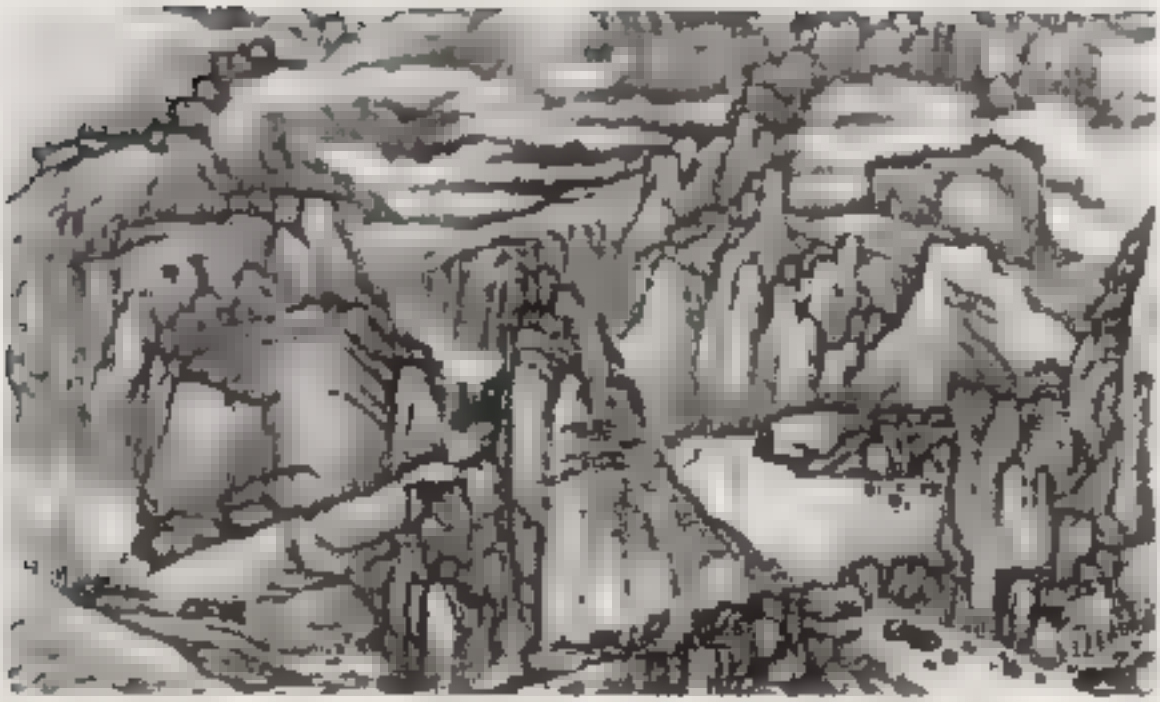
[illegible] Tang [illegible]

Sketches after Old Masters is a rare surviving example of a fenben, or artist's copy-book, a handy source for motifs and styles that most probably was standard equipment for professional artists and perhaps for literati painters as well. The forty surviving leaves are a handbook of landscape and figure elements, including building types and costume details, probably drawn directly from originals and often including notations identifying the stylistic source. Gu's favored models in this compendium were Southern Song court artists, and in this he continues the orientation of middle Ming professionals. The page with bust-length and seated female and male figures includes abundant notations identifying the source styles as court and professional paintings of palace beauties and shows how a finished painting might be composed directly from pre-existing elements (Fig. 9-[illegible]).

This copy-book or catalogue approach to composition is thoroughly embodied in the Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Calligraphy and Painting (see above, Fig. 9-3) and other similar woodblock-printed compendia, which made such versions of artists' jealously guarded sketch books broadly available to interested buyers. Similar sketch books have been attributed to the painter Gong Xian (c. 1618–1689), a contemporary of the Mustard Seed Garden Manual editor Wang Gai in the Nanjing–Yangzhou region. Though Gong's comments on the sketches still belong to the genre of studio secrets, Gong Xian held strong loyalist sentiments for the fallen Ming dynasty, expressed in poetic inscriptions on his landscapes and in the sombre desolation of his scenery, with empty cottages and darkly textured blocky cliffs and trees conveying a mood of desolation and mourning.

Gong Xian may seem an unlikely professional painter because there is not much elegance or charm in his work and very little display of technical skill. To some degree Gong's harsh evocations of loyalism may have been his professional stock in trade, aimed at audiences with similar sentiments whose resistance to the established Manchu regime was limited to the indirect, symbolic spheres of culture. Other artists active in the late seventeenth century, such as Bada Shanren and Shitao (see Figs. 9-15, 9-16), likewise operated at times as professional loyalists, producing nostalgic or symbolic themes in substantial numbers. Gong Xian's work shows that even a deliberately systematic approach could result in great expressive power and complexity. His Thousand Peaks and Myriad Ravines (Fig. 9-28) is both oppressive and monumental in its crowded density. Some features, such as the strong dark–light contrasts, sweeping diagonal recessions, and sculpted hollows and clouds, suggest the impact of European landscape engravings in the mannerist style [illegible] thoroughly transposed into a Chinese idiom.

At the other end of the stylistic and thematic spectrum were professional painters such as Yuan Jiang, active in Yangzhou around the time of Gong Xian's death and on into the early eighteenth century. Yuan Jiang was a dynamic and masterful draftsman who specialized in elaborate architectural and landscape fantasies in the manner of Song monumental landscapes, with deep recessional spaces and illusionistic textures. His paintings seem to have been aimed at wealthy merchants or those with pretensions to wealth



[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] underlying [illegible]

[illegible] and [illegible]

[illegible] ed men from [illegible] merchant [illegible]

[illegible] as a political [illegible] who [illegible]

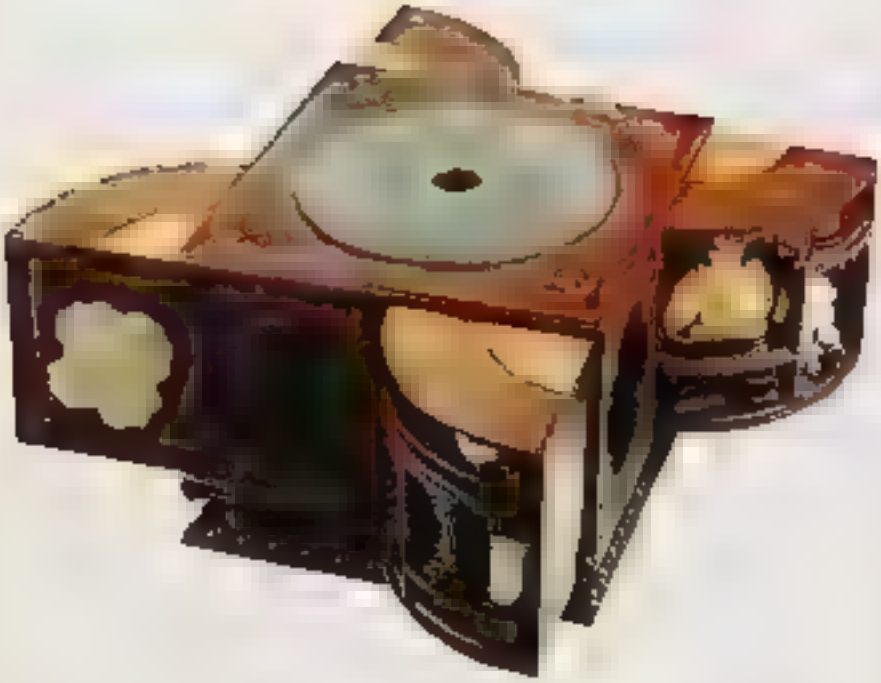
[illegible] same writers had been subject to arbitrary punishments and intellectual censorship by the Manchu [illegible] [illegible] elegant garden [illegible]

[illegible] as an agreeable pre[illegible]

The [illegible]

[illegible] school of seven forms are [illegible] who [illegible] been [illegible] members. Their [illegible]

his work. Zheng Xie [illegible]



. Square [illegible] in [illegible] [illegible]

each w[illegible] sig[illegible] [illegible] differences in language and customs. As a vast empire, the Qing was constantly concerned with potential incursions from border populations of Mongolia, Central Asia and Tibet. The Manchu regime enjoyed the doctrine of "The Great Unity" which [illegible] not only geopolitical and cultural but also [illegible] [illegible] and multicultural perspectives. Some [illegible]

[illegible] Manchu authorities [illegible] The "Southern Tour" pictures, a series of monumental handscrolls [illegible] [illegible]

The [illegible] inspection tours carried out by the Kangxi emperor between 1684 and [illegible] and by the Qianlong emperor between 1751 and 1784 [illegible] were designed to assist the pacification of the southern regions, especially in the south eastern Yangzi River valley, that had been a [illegible] of resistance to the Qing regime and the loyalist subjects and [illegible] [illegible] the regions that were [illegible] Qing prosperity. Tours [illegible] [illegible] the large imperial retinue, some times lavish expenditure and construction [illegible] local hosts to provide the requisite hospitality and inspection of [illegible] Qing public works projects such as flood control dams. Thus the tours were great [illegible] spectacles and material projections of imperial power in circulation.

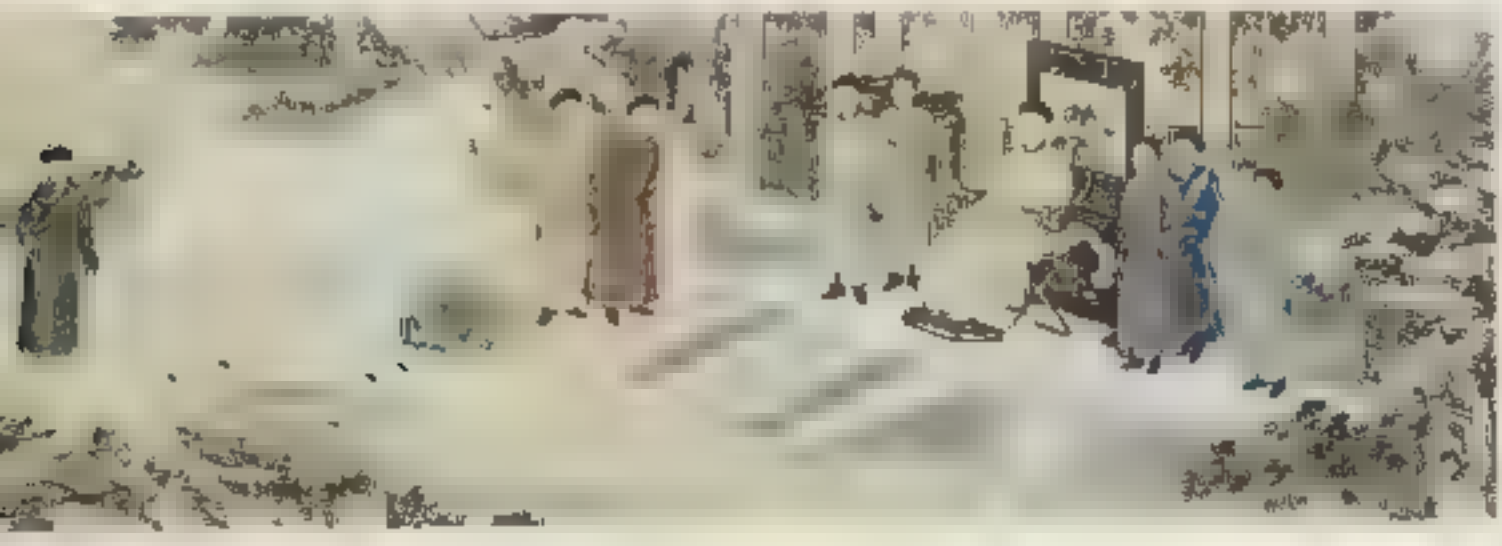
Another kind of event, though less glamorous, placed an embodied member of Qing authority in handscroll depicting the Qianlong Emperor [illegible]

[illegible] The emperor and his officials [illegible] [illegible] Central Asian emissaries in a marble pavilion [illegible]

[illegible] are shown in deep conversation [illegible] [illegible] the imperial [illegible] [illegible] the Han [illegible] [illegible] scented [illegible] painting and sculpture. What is new [illegible] [illegible] portrait [illegible] [illegible] painter at the Qianlong court, Giuseppe Castiglione (1688–1768), given the Chinese name Lang Shining. He adapts and [illegible] techniques of the European art style and other kind of [illegible] in the service of the Qing [illegible]

Many other forms of court art had political and ideological implications even when not [illegible] [illegible] of diplomatic or military events. The large scale production of Tibetan Buddhist thangka paintings, sacred pictures, and [illegible] objects [illegible] in part a conservation of Tibetan religious leaders who [illegible] Buddhist [illegible] designed to ensure peace in relations with neighboring Tibet and Mongolia. Visiting Dalai and Panchen Lamas brought [illegible] objects [illegible] [illegible] and were rewarded with religious presents [illegible] [illegible]

Even the few examples [illegible] here make clear that despite the emphasis on a great



Giuseppe Castiglione (Lang Shining), 1688–1766, Qianlong Emperor Receiving Tribute Flowers from the Kazakhs

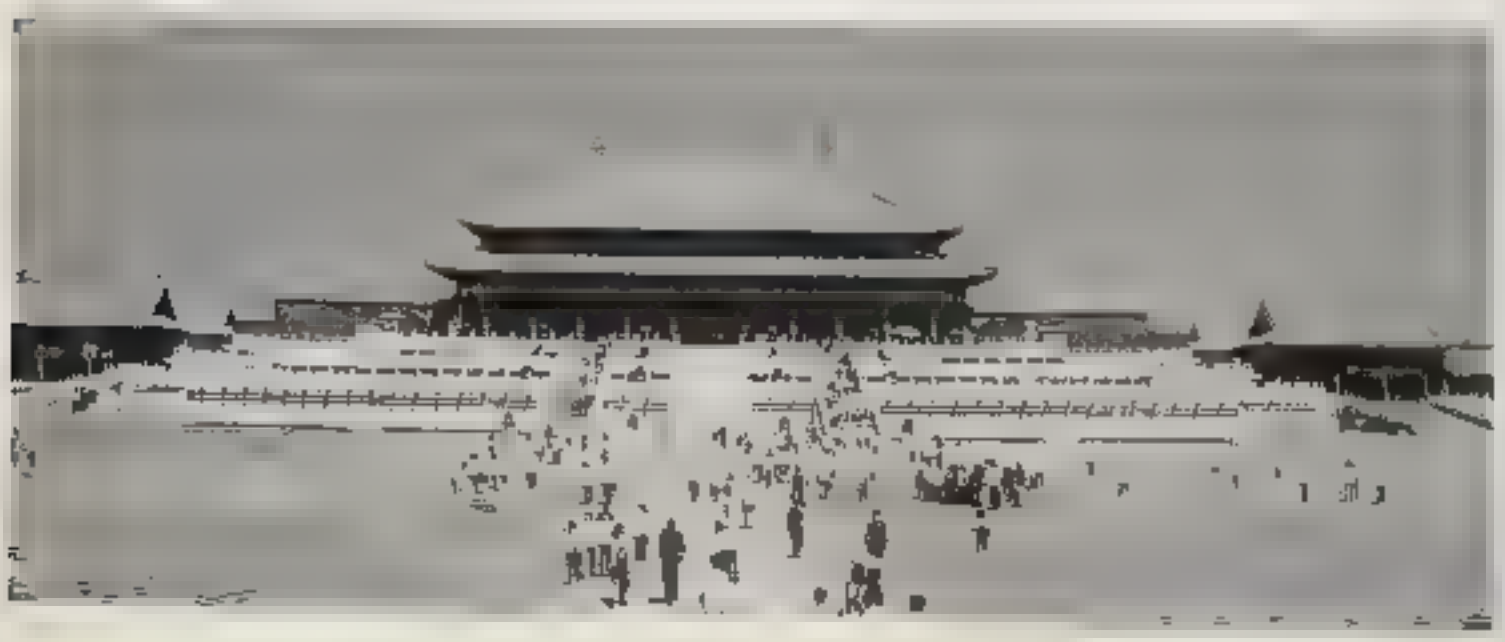
[illegible] and the central axis of other [illegible] [illegible] much more than the imperial palace in the Forbidden City. Architecturally, the [illegible] included summer palaces near Beijing and at Chengde in Manchuria, or what is now northeastern China, as well as a summer resort and Tibetan-style religious building complexes at Chengde (also known as Jehol in northern Hebei). Ceremonial buildings and altars around Beijing and imperial tombs in complexes were part of the imperial world. The southern expansion of the [illegible] projected the court into the southern [illegible] the luxury and patronage of Lamaist Buddhism from Tibet and Mongolia. Court patronage extending most fully to the [illegible] was a [illegible] in the southeastern province of Jiangsu and imperial sojourns extended throughout China and into neighboring lands, both far and near, and Europe, among other foreign places. The [illegible] circulated throughout China and [illegible] ruling regimes, and art has involved national and ultimately international networks of production, acquisition, and consumption.

Palace Architecture

The unquestioned center of the Qing imperial networks was the Purple Forbidden City so designated because of the identification of the emperor with the numinous purple radiance of the Pole Star. While we have emphasized the political, military, and economic roles of the emperor, his Heaven-priestly functions were equally important. [illegible] the palace [illegible] as the Son of Heaven, the emperor maintained cosmic order by performing and [illegible] at the Altars of Heaven and Earth, the temple of imperial Ancestors, and the Altar of Society. The Forbidden City was oriented along a forbidding north-south axis that encompassed the main palace complexes, with the palace buildings facing south in a plan of great antiquity reaching back to rites associated with the Zhou dynasty. A [illegible] symbolic of the imperial palace complex [illegible] directions. Axes which governed flow through the palace and out into the world beyond, and the walls and enclosures that separated and complemented the Forbidden City from the couplet at large and [illegible] the palace.

The [illegible] plan of Qing-dynasty Beijing was a series of nested, walled enclosures, with the central Forbidden City surrounded by a walled imperial city of government buildings and temples, a residential inner city, and the south of the walled complex in Outer City. The series of enclosures is visible in Xu Yanzi's Bird's-Eye View of the Capital (see Fig. 9.3 above) seems in some ways a magnification of the compartmentalized treasure boxes

9.34 Hall of Supreme Harmony
Forbidden City, Beijing, China



[illegible] cities but [illegible] he [illegible] for the Kangxi emperor [illegible] the subject of [illegible] illustrative cap[illegible] [illegible] drawings made by the Italian priest Matteo Ripa [illegible] showing Chinese court pastimes on the site. [illegible] [illegible] F[illegible] by 24[illegible] 7 The [illegible] and winding pathways of [illegible] these garden design documented in such print [illegible] impacted the so-called Anglo-Chinese style of garden design in mid-eighteenth [illegible] E[illegible]

Buddhist Arts at Court

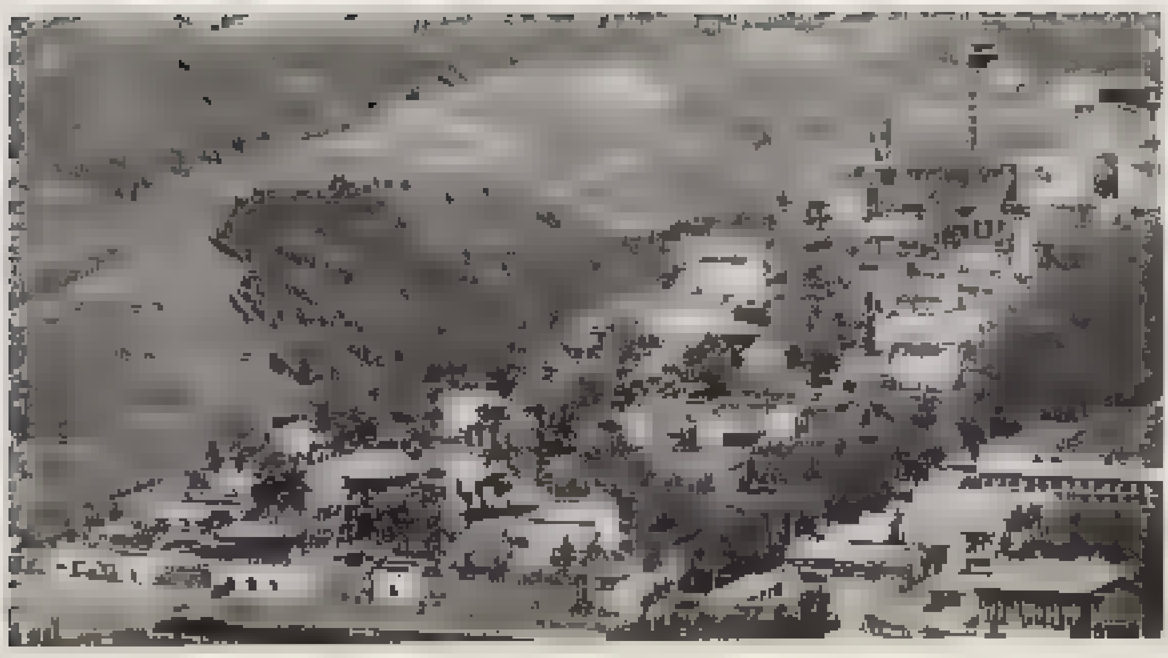
The Qing courts were [illegible] patrons of Tibetan [illegible] Buddhism. There is no reason to [illegible] the personal devotion of the emperors [illegible] every [illegible] action carried political and symbolic significance as well. The diplomatic benefits of sponsorship of Lamaist Buddhism lay in maintaining [illegible] relations with the Tibetan and Mongolian regions where lamas held political as well as spiritual authority.

Present-day [illegible] universalist [illegible] Chinese efforts [illegible] These [illegible] has [illegible] roots in the early Qing period and military conflicts with Tibetan peoples date back to the Tang era [illegible] [illegible] Buddhist art with [illegible] Chinese art [illegible] [illegible] a politically charged choice [illegible] with focus on hybrid Sino-Tibetan modes [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] complex of lamaist temple buildings in China [illegible] adjacent to the imperial Summer Resort in Chengde. Many of these were replicas of Tibetan temples but [illegible] commemorate visits of important Mongolian or Tibetan lamas, and suggest a [illegible] incorporation of Tibetan religious and Chinese imperial culture. The most extraordinary was a replica of the Potala Palace in Lhasa, Tibet, the center of lamaist Buddhism since the Tang period, built at Chengde between 1767 and 1771. There too was a mixture of religious and diplomatic motives, as the complex was built to celebrate an assembly of borderland leaders and

[illegible] Anonymous, Shanghai [illegible]
[illegible] (1[illegible]–95), Hangzhou, silk embroidery [illegible]
[illegible] 20[illegible] cm x 56 [illegible] cm

[illegible]

[illegible] Jehol



[illegible] Potala [illegible] Palace [illegible] Lhasa [illegible]

[illegible] Regulations, [illegible]

chapter in a long history of importations and exchanges [illegible] these cultures, as far back in time as we can recognize a Chinese polity, we can find imported elements of great economic and cultural consequence: jades and horses from Central Asia, Sasanian and Islamic vessel types and designs from the Near East; Central Asian, Near Eastern, and Indian music, dance, and costume; jewels, ivory, woods, and exotic animals from Southeast Asia. These elements were mostly the result of intra-Asian trade, although there were periods of [illegible] foreign contact. In general, they were of small volume and [illegible] rather than a single East-West [illegible] for special notice may seem an act of Eurocentric bias.

Nonetheless, there are historically interesting reasons for focusing on Sino-European trade during this era. Direct, large-volume, and long-distance East-West trade was a significant new development in the world economy starting around 1550. Previously, goods from China reached Europe only sporadically, through intermediary merchants. The very existence of a functioning global economy was itself new, and it grew out of the exploitation and colonization of the New World and the opening of maritime routes to Asia that had been motivated by European desires for direct access to Asian spices, tea, porcelains, and silks. By the mid-seventeenth century Asia, Europe, and the Americas were participants in interlinked economies that involved movements of goods and money around the globe. Furthermore, the structure of trade changed with the formation of public stock companies such as the British and Dutch East India Companies, which attracted investment, sold shares, and paid out dividends. The establishment of corporate enterprises that operated globally marked a new system of economic activity that is still with us today. Finally, the impact of large-scale East-West trade extended into the intellectual and political sphere. The prestige of Chinese goods and the prosperity of China lent authority to Chinese models of political and social organization, which held great interest for European political thinkers. The seventeenth century also saw the first efforts at translation between Chinese and European languages and the beginnings of systematic sinological studies.

In discussing art in an intercultural context, we should be wary of employing such rigid categories of Chinese and European identities in art forms, styles, and subject matter. The game of [illegible] that [illegible] influence in some sense only perpetuates the [illegible] ignores the dynamic processes of [illegible] exotic elements are quickly naturalized and transformed by powerful cultural systems. Thus, for example, European artists [illegible] of Chinese patrons can be considered primarily as Chinese artists, fundamentally no different than Tibetan or Central Asian specialists who might be recruited for particular talents and tasks. And while we cannot ignore the European origins of certain artistic technologies such as perspective and chiaroscuro, we should recognize that their appearance in Chinese products was a matter of [illegible] and active acquisition rather than a passive reception of influence. Similarly, Chinese ceramics [illegible] made [illegible] for European markets could be considered primarily European arts, even though signs of exoticism in design or manufacture were part of their appeal. In many cases it will be useful to think of international arts as hybrids. For example, a porcelain jar made in China might respond to changing European taste by imitating a kind of Japanese ware also arriving in Europe; the jar could be dramatically transformed with the addition of French gilt-bronze mounts, changing not only the meaning and effect of the jar but its function by turning [illegible] labeling such [illegible] objects as either 'Chinese' or 'European' is probably more misleading than helpful.

Export Ceramics

Ceramics constituted one of the largest volume exports from China to Europe. They had an especially rapid impact on the visual culture of Europe because they were domestic objects in regular use, most often decorated with pictorial designs that could be imitated in local ceramics or transferred to other media. The European fascination

[illegible]. Dish, Kraak ware

with porcelain in particular, and the quest to unlock the secrets of its production forms an important chapter in the cultural and economic history of Europe. The export trade was dominated by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century and later in much greater volumes by the Dutch East India Company after 1602 and by the British East India Company after 1730. Already by 1639 the Dutch had shipped some three million pieces of Chinese porcelain to Europe, and the British conveyed several hundred thousand pieces a year in the mid-eighteenth century. The majority of these were mass-produced items decorated just like those exported to other regions. As a result, standard patterns. As early as 1655 the directors of the Dutch East India Company were ordering specific items and quantities, including shapes of European origin such as beer mugs and butter dishes that were suited to the local climate and customs. Drawings and models were sent from Europe to guide production, and European designs of coats of arms, Christian scenes, and the like were also made to order in China.

The letters of Père d'Entrecolles introduced above (see pages 342–343) discuss the economic risks of industrial-scale enterprise and production for foreign markets.

[illegible] is not surprising that porcelain is so dear in Europe, not upon [illegible] the huge gains of the European merchants and of their Chinese agents. [illegible]

[illegible] everything is lost and unexpected, the porcelain [illegible] the cases, which [illegible] found [illegible] as sound as [illegible] as if it had [illegible] without [illegible] expected. Europe is satisfied almost [illegible] after new models of [illegible] and [illegible] to reproduce [illegible] the least fault [illegible] because they are not in the taste of the [illegible] Europeans. [illegible] sold to them some [illegible] designs sent are quite [illegible] [illegible] produce for themselves some changes [illegible]

[illegible] other possibilities. The stoneware was known [illegible] the genius of [illegible] Europe is not inventions, often [illegible] to have brought from Europe novel and curious designs [illegible] present to the emperor something [illegible]

Dossier [illegible] Jesuit [illegible] (pp. 332–335)

The most popular export wares of the early period of European trade from about 1575 to 1650 were those known as Kraak, after a Dutch term probably derived from the Portuguese carrack, or cargo ships that first transported the wares. A common type was an underglaze blue dish [illegible] 33 cm in a central round medallion scene surrounded by radiating panels with floral designs and figures, sometimes Chinese scenes are combined with European elements, such as the panels with putti illustrated here.

After the fall of the Ming in 1644 there was some interruption in foreign trade and in the administration of the kilns at Jingdezhen. There was no abatement of European demand, which was met in part by build-up stockpiles in China and Taiwan, and by shifting production to Japanese kilns. So-called "Transitional Wares," produced in the period from about 1620 until 1683 when official kilns were reestablished at Jingdezhen, continued to be exported.

Along with export ceramics carrying Chinese, European, or mixed designs, there was a large production of enamelware vessels with porcelain or metal bodies decorated with European motifs

Chinese Export Ceramics

[illegible] who [illegible] because [illegible] was so [illegible] and adaptive [illegible]

[illegible] collections in European and North American [illegible] are produced [illegible] traditions [illegible] the [illegible] porcelain [illegible] produced by [illegible] courses as well as factories and including [illegible] engraved

9-43 Vase with European figures

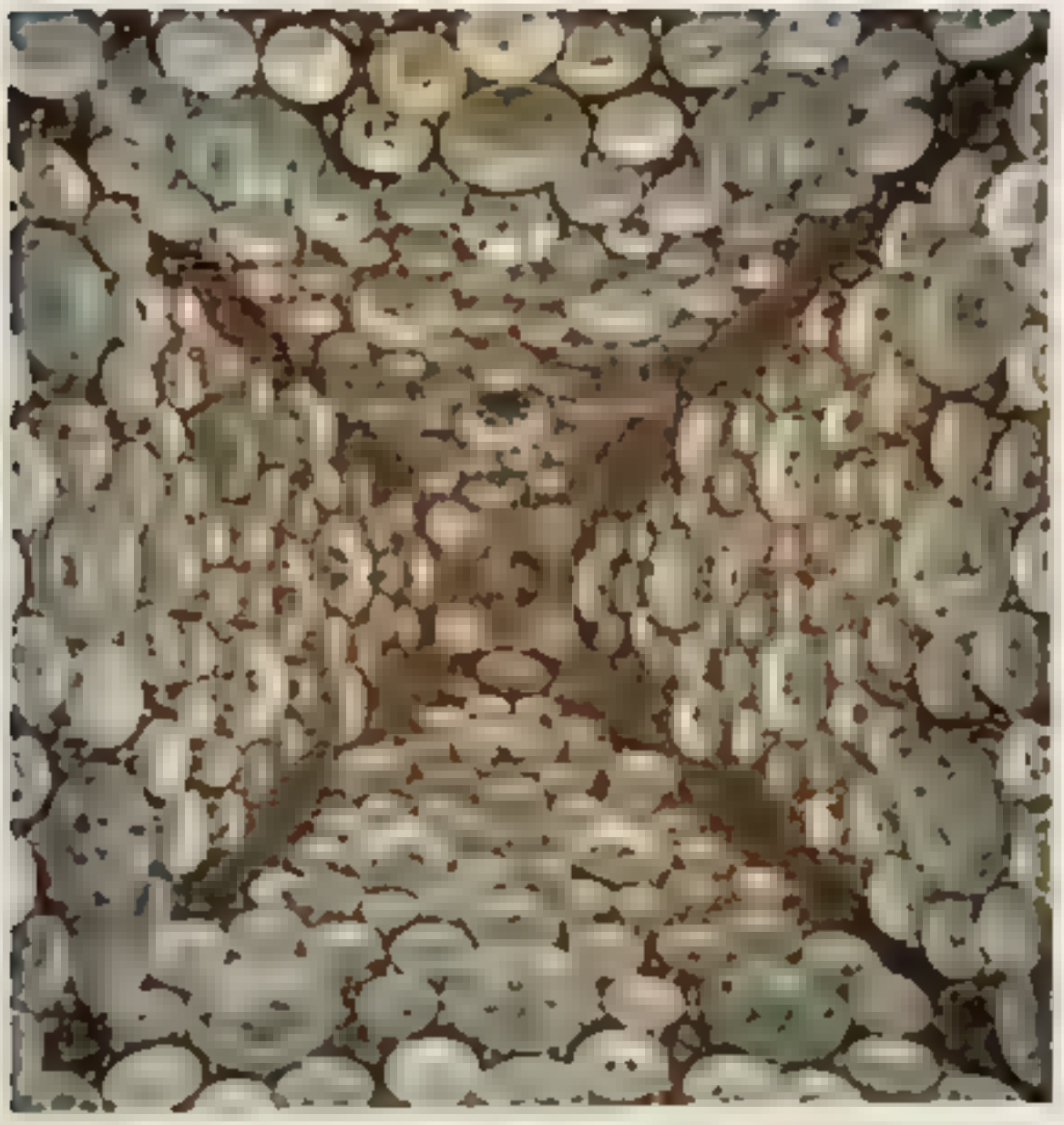
heat was such as had published by Stalker and Parker in 1688. Various styles of Chinese lacquer were copied as well, including black lacquer screens that were sometimes used as backs as well as decorative panels on European cabinets. Furnishings were among the chief vehicles for bringing what is a complex of objects and art forms produced in Europe that range have constructed an imaginary China.

European Arts and Artists at the Qing Court

We have already encountered some Qing court paintings and enamelware vessels that used European decorative or representational techniques. These were executed in whole or in part by European artists working at the Chinese court (see Figs. 9.2, 9.33, and 9.41). These artists were most often missionaries whose artistic talents gave them access into the court and opportunities for interactions with high officials and even the emperor. That access, it was hoped, would provide a shortcut to the goal of winning Catholic converts among the Chinese elite and ultimately the population at large. Practical considerations were often put to work at mundane labors such as in the enamelers' workshops. They had relatively little overt impact on their Chinese audiences, who found strange, backward, European pictorial styles powerfully affecting but lacking in artistry as the Chinese defined it. European artists were also encouraged to use Chinese materials and to modify their styles into a hybrid manner that provided a smooth integration with work done by their Chinese contemporaries in the artistic sense. Often, the European missionary artists were to some degree converted by the Chinese patrons.

Missionaries brought a variety of useful talents and skills to their service at court. Aside from painters, there were sculptors, architects and fountain designers, enamelers, printmakers, glass cutters, and clockmakers. Most of the specialties involved particular kinds of knowledge or technical expertise, valued by their imperial patrons and appreciable outside the arena of art. Mathematics, astronomy, and the measurement sciences were highly valued. The Qing emperors, as enthusiastic collectors of clocks, prized the mechanical talents of clockmakers and fountain designers. The perspectival rendering techniques of painting in court paintings were also a concrete application of broader mathematical knowledge. Father Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–1688), a Flemish mathematician and astronomer who served at the imperial observatory in Beijing during his years in China (from 1659 to 1688), probably taught mathematical perspective techniques to a younger Chinese colleague at the observatory named Jun Bingzhen (fl. c. 1684–1736), who later became a prominent court artist.

Although European artists active at the Kangxi Emperor's court was the Italian lay priest Matteo Ripa (1692–1765), who served at court from 1710 to 1723. He introduced the technique of copperplate engraving into China, but his most important impact may have been in Europe. His engravings illustrating the gardens at the imperial summer retreat at Chengde (Jehol), which were circulating in Europe by 1724 (see Fig. 9.3, above), and provided visual information about a kind of garden design based on effects of natural landscape and asymmetrical layout, instead of the geometrical designs and care in trimming of shrubs and plants of the contemporary European garden. The seemingly natural, unassuming, and rustic Chinese imperial gardens were in fact highly deliberate, even artificial, effects achieved with great expense and not but their visual impact was distinctive enough to be an influence on European thinking about gardens. Chinese-style gardens came to stand in Europe for values of naturalness and freedom from constraint, which took on political significance in local debates between English and pre-Revolutionary French thinkers and within English political discourse. The history of the so-called Anglo-Chinese garden, a name bestowed by French writers who did not want the English to get sole credit for the development, thus belongs to the history of Eurasian culture and had very little basis in direct knowledge of Chinese gardens. Nonetheless, Ripa's engravings, along with written accounts of Chinese gardens and other texts illustrating Chinese architecture, provided some guidance for English landscape gardeners, who disguised boundaries, eliminated



illustrators. A number of religious images engraved on copper plates preserve much of the iconography of the originals, and some architectural renderings of the [illegible] information on Chinese buildings. However most of the illustrations have a distinctly European quality in costume and interior details and many are original creations based on textual work. Accounts, Kircher's engraved *Portraits of the Martyrs Ricci and Paulus Hsü* [illegible] portrays Chinese converts and assumptions concerning some of the complex [illegible] of Euro-Sino-Chinese relations. Fig. 4-45. The two figures are alike in [illegible] and even in their similar in dress. Part of the success of the Jesuits in China was due to their learning and sensitiveness of purpose which put them on the same plane as Chinese scholar-officials in turn. The high esteem in which things Chinese were held in Europe was due in part to the projection of wisdom and [illegible] by [illegible] Chinese scholarship. The wall plaques include a named painting of the virgin and Christ in Chinese [illegible] in ancient script and [illegible] sets of Chinese characters and [illegible] Roman letters. Translation of Christian and scientific texts into Chinese and other [illegible] texts [illegible] was one of the chief projects of the missionaries. The Virgin and Christ image on the wall in this Chinese account of religious paintings brought by Ricci to China [illegible] Chinese viewers with [illegible] solidity and modeling of facial features with highlights and shadows.

Other influential early textual sources on China included the Dutch writer Johan Nieuhoff's 1673 *An Embassy to the Emperor of China* which included engravings of Chinese cities and pagodas based on Nieuhoff's visits around 1635. For eighteenth century Europeans, the most important source was Father P. du Halde's encyclopedic *Description of the Empire of China* of 1735 based on the compilation of letters and reports from Jesuit missionaries there. The compendium treated geography, history, politics, and physical description and included translated excerpts from classical philosophical texts and some poetry, fiction and drama. Literary excerpts offered Europeans another source of views of China and writers as important as Voltaire and Goethe rendered their own conceptions or versions of a play, the Jesuit [illegible] Hades [illegible] period [illegible] The Orphan of the House of Chao. Finally, writers and philosophers such as [illegible] Montesquieu (1689–1755), Voltaire (1694–1778) and Frederick the Great [illegible] Wolff (1679–1754) utilized their own [illegible] and constructions of Chinese classics [illegible] philosophy and statecraft. For most of the period from the late seventeenth to the late eighteenth century European Enlightenment thinkers held China in very high regard. It was seen as a model for Europe in this period in the arenas of [illegible] decorum, and politics. China was [illegible] by many as a philosophers state run by scholars chosen on the basis of merit rather than birth, which practiced religious [illegible] maintained public order and an agriculturally based prosperity all under the aegis of an enlightened despotism. [illegible] [illegible]

There was much debate and projection. For [illegible] moments in such images of China which were sometimes criticized for their inaccuracies by contemporary European writers with different agendas. There was also subtle basis [illegible] or such [illegible]. Indeed, a [illegible] of most European images of China, [illegible] philosophical writing, [illegible] travel literature [illegible] illustrations. Even the [illegible] materials [illegible] Chinese culture found in imported craft objects were [illegible] with [illegible] made in China [illegible] European tastes, or with European imitations of Chinese [illegible] products, images of China that are [illegible] data, mediated reports, wishful thinking, hopes, [illegible] and projected fantasies are of course [illegible] very much with us today.

Underneath as the European styles that mixed exotic [illegible] East and South Asian themes and media are [illegible] known as [illegible] discussed as derivative, [illegible] and most of all inauthentic, [illegible] there was a large investment of resources and interest in such styles. For more than a century chinoiserie constituted a sign [illegible] and movement with ceramic and exquisite production, [illegible] wares [illegible] interior and garden design

metalwork, upholstery, and pictorial art. Because chinoiserie hangings [illegible] the history of European art, it does revend [illegible] work. We should however note the part played by major artists such as Francois Boucher [illegible] Jean-Baptiste Pillement [illegible] to houses and palaces as well as the potential for [illegible] generate entirely new artistic configurations. Improvisations on the European [illegible] such as the rococo were particularly [illegible] Boucher [illegible] those had a vogue [illegible] Europe [illegible] the late seventeenth [illegible] were in part manifestations [illegible] the European [illegible] and the secrecy surrounding [illegible] the European imagination. Porcelain [illegible] decorative [illegible] European palaces [illegible] imitation [illegible] these hangings [illegible] other objects produced at the Dutch factories in Delft [illegible] elsewhere [illegible] major [illegible] uses [illegible] porcelain [illegible] numbers of Chinese porcelain vessels [illegible] designs [illegible] part as a [illegible] of the wealth and collecting [illegible] A notable example is the [illegible] in the Topkapi Palace collection [illegible] which [illegible] pieces [illegible] Many [illegible] what [illegible] ownership [illegible] possible [illegible] of the Ottoman [illegible] between 1604 and 1687. Many of the pieces date back to the sixteenth century, including [illegible] of the [illegible] Still, they represent several [illegible] generations [illegible] value of the [illegible] of the Ottomans and the previous owner of the [illegible] Mehmed IV, King Philip IV [illegible] 1605–65, who sponsored [illegible] expeditions [illegible] each [illegible] and was [illegible] Chinese [illegible] were ordinarily considered luxury items for use [illegible] Turkish [illegible] decorations [illegible] almost [illegible] Dutch [illegible] and [illegible] both [illegible] possession and to the status [illegible] Chinese [illegible] in [illegible] Europe. The architectural scale and [illegible] arrangement [illegible] the [illegible] suggest [illegible] dedicated [illegible] the [illegible] of porcelain and other things Chinese

10 IDENTITY AND COMMUNITY IN NINETEENTH- AND TWENTIETH-CENTURY CHINESE ART

THE PAST TWO CENTURIES have been amongst the most turbulent and heroic, tragic and triumphed history. The most [illegible] changes [illegible] and the establishment in 1949 of the People's Republic [illegible] the most [illegible] Pacific [illegible] the end of World War I. Those transforming events were embodied within a painted landscape of warfare, rebellion and social dislocation, reaching well back into the nineteenth century. Repeated encroachments, annexations, and the [illegible] powers of which the Opium Wars (1839–1842) and the Sino-Japanese Wars (1894–1895, 1937–1945) were only the most flagrant, alternated with equally devastating internal conflicts, among them the Taiping Rebellion (1850–1864), the Chinese Civil War (1945–1949) and the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). Tens of millions of people died in these conflicts and in other costly disasters. [illegible] and human suffering was [illegible]

Amidst all this [illegible] the cultural sphere was [illegible] anything even more complex, driven by new political pressures and [illegible] forces. Art was politicized and artmaking was turned into an instrument of warfare and class struggle. Traditional modes [illegible] with force [illegible] styles and media. Art movements and theories [illegible] with the same intensity as the political debates of which they formed a part. While the art world was [illegible] the same economic [illegible] explosions and [illegible] the discussion of nine[illegible] does not deny the [illegible] cultural consequences of the end of the imperial system and the establishment of a nation-state in 1912. Rejection of traditional [illegible] culture and its replacement by modern Western science, technology and institutions, including a vernacular modernism [illegible] based on common speech and influenced by Western literary forms, as well as Western-style painting and other arts, accompanied the new republic. Policies of the People's Republic of China (PRC) were [illegible] still more radical, seeking the destruction of [illegible] demanding an art [illegible] from the arts. Western explosive political and avant-garde movements are [illegible] twentieth-century phenomena. This chapter emphasizes cultural structures and [illegible] the last two centuries.

[illegible] the most [illegible] changing themes involved changing power relationships between China and the West. As we [illegible] relations between China and [illegible] Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were [illegible] and mutually respectful. This was in part because the two regions maintained a [illegible] and ignorance of one another, and also because of a general balance of power and prestige. During this era China was prosperous and

Oil on [illegible] Spring

[illegible] Chinese [illegible] Revolution

[illegible]

agreement [illegible] and [illegible] with both its governmental and military structures had an very high repute. At the same time Western European countries collectively were rising, maturing and militarily powerful with increasingly impressive achievements in science and technology and were [illegible] with China even [illegible] technologies such as printing, gunpowder and [illegible]. The German philosopher Leibniz (1646–1716) expressed a prevailing understanding of this cultural balance of power in his [illegible] Latest News [illegible] 1697 [illegible] this summary. Europe excelled in astronomy, military science, geometry, logic and metaphysics, while China excelled in principles of civil ethics and politics, the tranquillity of nature, and in the understanding of natural religion.

Total equivalence in political and cultural power was altered classically and to China's decline in the nineteenth century. A pivotal event in both history and symbolic terms was the allied mission, headed by Lord George Macartney in 1793, from the British East India Company to the court of the aging Qianlong emperor seeking greater trade opportunities and diplomatic recognition. The mission refused an arrival worship and brought examples of contemporary British manufacture as unmistakable signs of developing European military and industrial capabilities. The goods, however, were taken as simply more tribute from abroad, and the diplomatic and trade initiatives that might have integrated China into an emerging modern world order were rejected. China, which had been the world's trade [illegible] during the Song–Yuan periods (ninth–fourteenth centuries) in science and technology, including metallurgy, armaments and shipbuilding technology, and which had a considerable international maritime presence, through the early fifteenth century, rapidly fell behind Europe in just those areas crucial to the projection of power: maritime technology, armaments, and the applied mathematics and technologies of mechanics and industrial arts. Most importantly, China lost ground in the economic infrastructures of prosperity, the competitive advantage, industrial organization, machinery and transportation which had pioneered the industrial scale of production and division of labor

[illegible] back as the lacquer industries of the Han period (206 BCE–220 CE) [illegible] paved only slightly to the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century, primarily as a source of materials and cheap labor. As China's political and economic status fell so too did the reputation of its artisanal and craft products, replaced by surrogates from the Western [illegible] in England and the French [illegible].

The history of international [illegible] in China has nineteen and twenty-first centuries has become one dominated by exploitation and tragedy. The Opium Wars commenced by the British from 1840 to 1842 to reverse a quarter-century of imports of opium into China by the British East India Company, which caused a long-term decline in the balance of trade and subsequent occupation of China. The treaty of Nanking (1842), in which China ceded Hong Kong and was forced to open several port cities to opium imports, was just the first chapter in an ongoing saga of colonial appropriations. French and British expeditionary forces sacked Beijing (1860), when the Yuanmingyuan imperial resort was looted and burned (see Fig. 4 above). The last half of the nineteenth century was also with colonial banqueting on the Chinese body politic and with concessions of extraterritorial rights and financial obligations from China to the European powers, Russia and Japan. Impoverished and [illegible] when the Qing imperial dynasty was ended in the Republican [illegible] 2 and foreign intrusions continued unabated, Russia and Japan carved out spheres of influence in northeastern China and Outer Mongolia. In the last years of the Qing empire and Japan's invasion of Manchuria in 1931, began a period of domination there that lasted until the end of World War II in 1944.

The troubles that beset China were of course not entirely or even primarily due to external interference, corruption and incompetence in the ruling classes, overpopulation, poor financial policies, extravagant expenditure and over-extension of China's power, contributed to widespread impoverishment and discontent. The Taiping Rebellion that began in 1851 had generated an era of uprisings that lasted almost a quarter of a century, bringing enormous destruction and social

[illegible] modernization. Likewise, the political and social tensions that led to the fall of the imperial system in [illegible] between [illegible] and [illegible] and the Cultural Revolution have not been determined [illegible] the undergoing [illegible] and national culture were [illegible] however major [illegible] launched by Western political [illegible] courses that occurred in [illegible] 20th [illegible] Singapore, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and [illegible]

[illegible] has [illegible] would certainly be [illegible] more [illegible] Chinese political and cultural landscape [illegible] in response to the West. It would be equally misleading [illegible] profound consequences of the [illegible] Chinese political, social, and economic fabric over the past two centuries, in which Western [illegible] systems were both a cause and a symptom [illegible] cultural sphere. [illegible] imported. Aesthetic styles, artistic, educational systems, and [illegible] concerns with [illegible] might be seen as complementary [illegible] reactions to a perceived environment [illegible] and [illegible] integration.

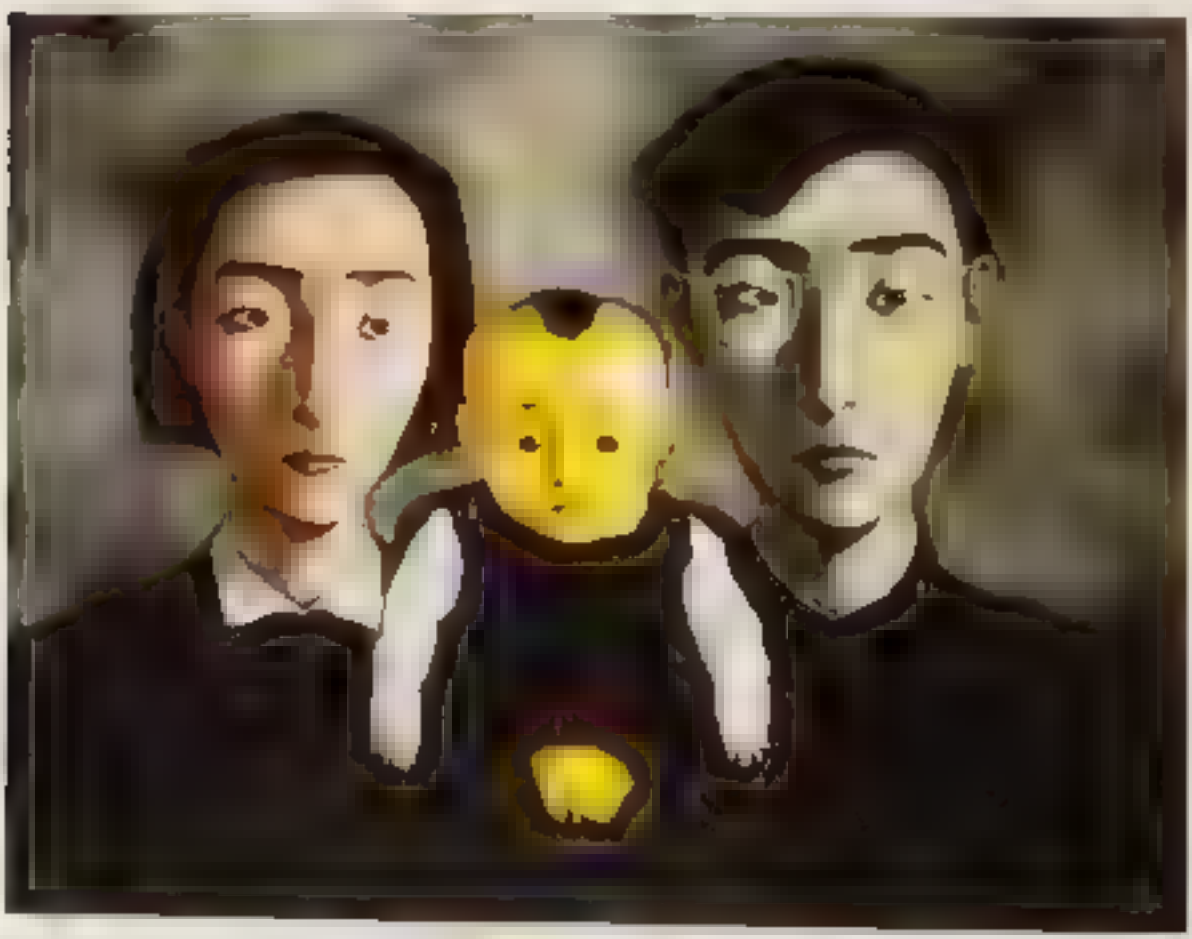
Issues of identity are everywhere in Chinese art of the last two centuries. Already in the nineteenth century, the presence of foreign settlements in treaty ports such as Shanghai complicated the question of what Chinese culture and identity mean, [illegible] new media, audiences, and institutions. Meanwhile, the problematic nature of [illegible] and [illegible] identities caught between commercial [illegible] and [illegible] generating aesthetic values changed permanently the role of painting. Especially in the twentieth century, artists have been confronted with an international range of styles, schools, media, and [illegible] Chinese modes in situations where [illegible] aesthetic expectations. Many artists have spent [illegible] transnational careers, and [illegible] operated across cultural communities where the tension between Chinese cultural identity and local adaptations could be acute. For a twentieth-century Chinese painting in an international arena structured around competing models of national sets, the problem of identity represented both the personal and the political, [illegible] as an issue [illegible] and [illegible] potential [illegible] and [illegible]

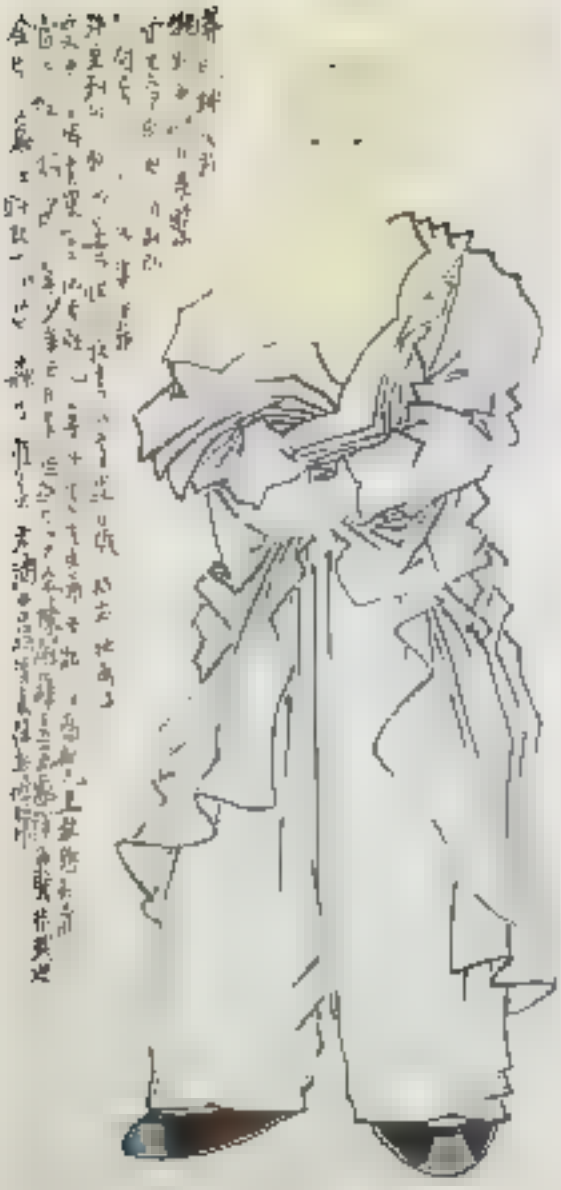
The importance of [illegible] in Chinese art [illegible] the rise of [illegible] growth of the [illegible] emerging [illegible] occurred especially [illegible] The end of [illegible] in 19[illegible] collected with [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] the explosive growth of [illegible] has [illegible] repercussions particularly in the [illegible] The influx [illegible] of [illegible] regions [illegible] increasing importance of [illegible] [illegible] New [illegible] were formed and [illegible] in response [illegible] and [illegible] sphere, artists associations [illegible] have been [illegible] and [illegible] associations [illegible] including the careers and [illegible] of their members.

The [illegible] of work [illegible] social [illegible] and culture [illegible] the Chinese [illegible] system [illegible] could have been more [illegible] From [illegible] the agricultural economy [illegible] the [illegible] and governing [illegible] traditional society was thoroughly transformed. The [illegible] of new communities [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] paintings. A [illegible] in the Republican era earlier [illegible] artistic movements [illegible] modernism of [illegible] artists. Some of those communities reached [illegible] comparable artists [illegible] Western [illegible] [illegible] Chinese around the world.

IMAGES OF THE SELF

The artistic genre most directly [illegible] to issues of identity is portraiture, which became increasingly prominent in the last two centuries as it



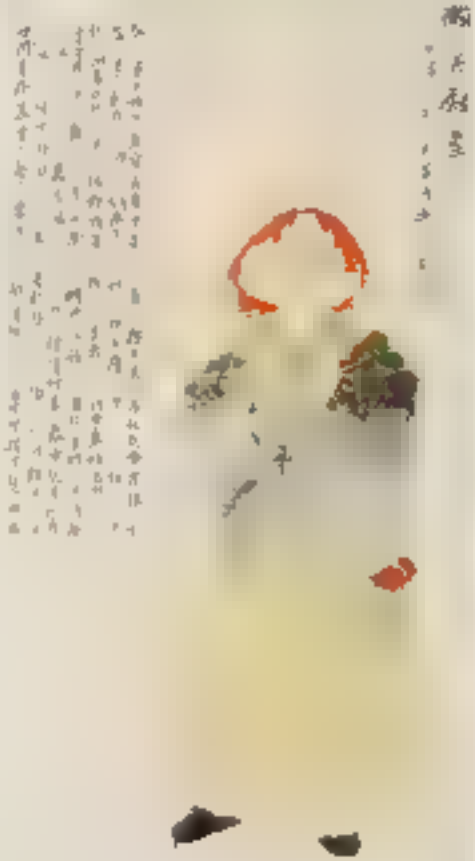


[illegible] portrayed himself as both melancholic and aggressive, like Chen Hongshou in the above [illegible]. Ren's profile output as a painter and print designer was occasional, for commercial [illegible] specific patrons or markets, which [illegible] concerns. Ren's long inscription [illegible] world in turmoil and his sense of a life he have accomplished anything significant. He may be referring to the contemporary Taiping Rebellion and its [illegible]

[illegible] to a sense of artistic [illegible] though either concern seems surprising in someone [illegible] older than his early [illegible]

This self-portrait makes powerful claims in both visual and [illegible] terms. [illegible] may embody a new sense of public responsibility and stature among [illegible] nineteenth-century professional [illegible]

The discovery [illegible] Wu Changshuo's self-portrait is more explicitly directed at the public sphere in a period in [illegible] Wu Changshuo (1844–1927) as The Dispossessed (Shanghai, [illegible]). The portrait was made in Shanghai, based



[illegible] Ren's [illegible] Hongshou

Huang Xun
(1764–1835) *Beauty*
Ink. One of a pair of hanging scrolls; ink and color on paper, 99 × 50 cm

[illegible] and painter Ren Yi (Ren Bonian, 1840–1896) was a Wei's painting teacher but was also an admirer of the Hei-ren educated. Yi's performance of other aspects of the cultural such as calligraphy and ancient styles seen in Ji Fabing's and seal carving. We had a very brief and unsatisfying career as an official and his poe[illegible]

[illegible] man he is so [illegible] of a scholar-official [illegible] The pi[illegible] inscription by Wei which created [illegible] discor[illegible]

end-of-long sessions at the government offices, rising in the morning [illegible] and sweating in the hot heat while wearing the heavy official robe as depicted. Ren Yi's image diminishes Wei Cong's status [illegible] and indicates a more distance space where the costume seems an awkward burden [illegible] Wei Ren's seems [illegible] the old-fashioned has own [illegible] to his younger but more prestigious students.

The [illegible] of passivity and com[illegible] in Wei Chai's poetic account of official life is one aspect of a broader pattern of [illegible]

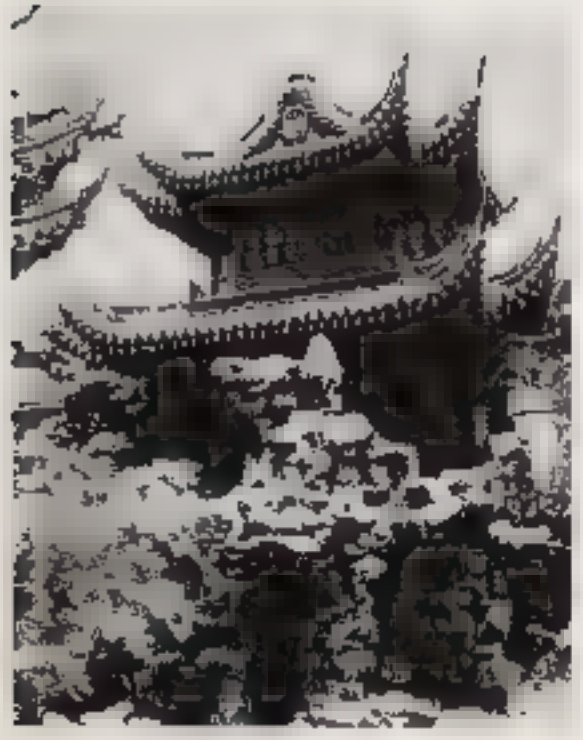
[illegible] cult life under the Manchus. The theme of the official as the spurned or neglected lover of the ruler has a history as far back as [illegible] imperial period in the rhapsodic poems of Qu Yuan in the third century BCE who drowns [illegible] despondent after [illegible] Feelings [illegible] emasculation were [illegible] when foreign military conquest was hemmed [illegible] such as the compulsory shaving of the forehead and dressing of the hair in the Manchu-style queue or "pigtail." In the nineteenth century a series of humiliating European annexations and forced concessions were superimposed on Manchu mechanisms of control.

In such [illegible] images [illegible] painted by [illegible] can be complicated [illegible] gender role [illegible] projections of male [illegible] palace beauties from the eighteenth [illegible] above all such harbingers [illegible] relations, as the women Chinese in opportunities [illegible] presence in Manchu palace environments as objects of desire [illegible] cultural possession. In the early nineteenth century the southeastern artists Fei Danxu (1801–1829) and Huang Xun (1764–1835) produced large numbers of images of a distinctive type of known beauty. The popularity of the type might be explained as a fashion for such delicate figures and [illegible] features but it also suggests a respite [illegible] contemporary masculine [illegible] however [illegible] type implies a compensation for concerns about male and [illegible] of images of contemporary passive women shown always available in the quiet precincts of the garden or inner private quarters. The women are sometimes depicted [illegible] such as spinning or sewing [illegible] Huang Xun's Beauty [illegible] has her head [illegible]

[illegible] maiden who touches her pinkie suggestively [illegible] her [illegible] gauzy robes and drapery lines [illegible] with the glossy [illegible] and hair [illegible] to convey qualities of [illegible] promised intimacy and [illegible] The identity of such women is ambiguous. They might be portraits but more likely were [illegible] types of beautiful maidens or courtesans where the production in multiples suggests something like the status of pin-ups. One of Huang Xun's scrolls quotes a poem by the middle Ming [illegible] Tang Yin, invoking a tradition of female images of beauties and courtesans and posing ambiguities of [illegible] status (see Fig. 8-3 above).

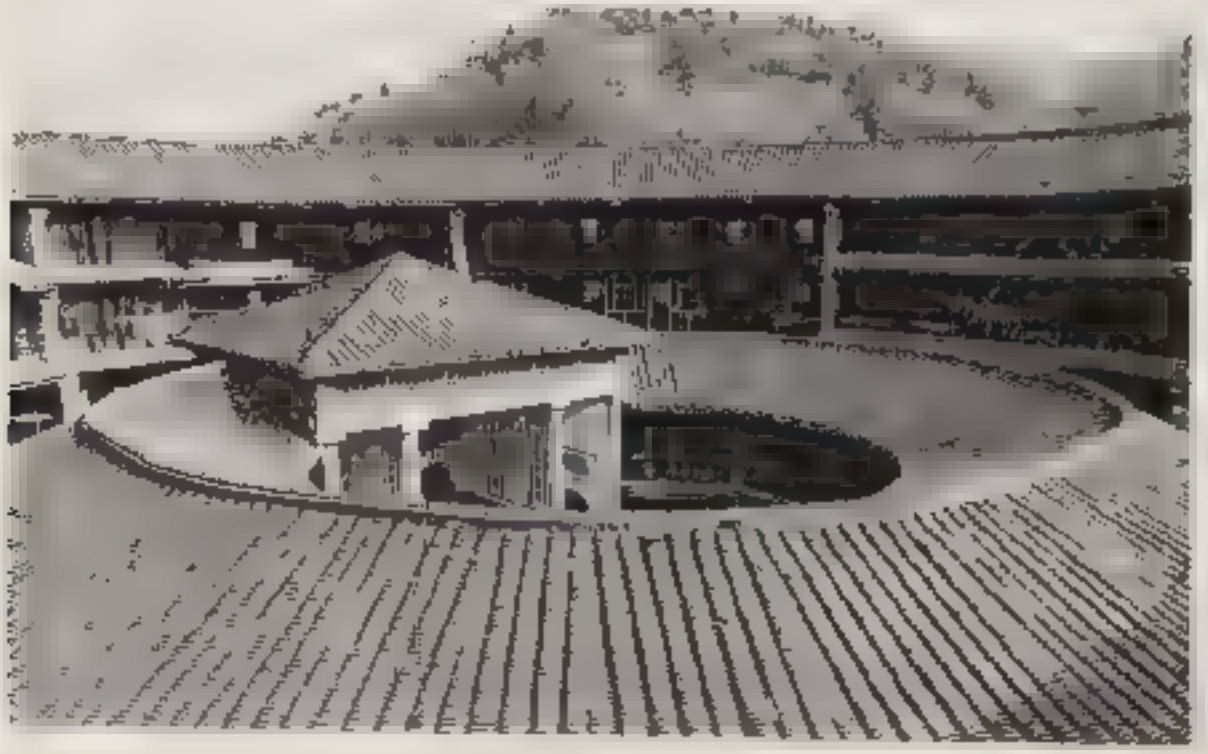
Fan's twentieth-century images of women embodied still more complex issues of identity. The female artist Chan Zhan (1903–1986) in 1932 painted a *Portrait of Russel* (no. 20-8) that evokes the approach of the French modernist painter Henri

Figure 4.



Shanghai

Zhenkang [illegible]



[illegible] of Zhenkang [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] hit inward to-

[illegible]

[illegible] aces like Pixian [illegible] angso [illegible] as part-

[illegible] An [illegible]

[illegible] often sponsored by Communist Party [illegible]

[illegible] hat even [illegible] milk [illegible] sides [illegible] standard-

[illegible] ed [illegible] world produce [illegible]

[illegible] ating [illegible] [illegible] was H [illegible] near [illegible]

[illegible] ecoded as a Model [illegible]

[illegible] ture be [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] This [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] hased [illegible] involved [illegible] [illegible] arrangements. The

[illegible]

[illegible] establishing [illegible] produce [illegible] Ca-

[illegible]

[illegible] wan has [illegible] long history [illegible] engagement with [illegible]

[illegible] seventeenth century [illegible]

[illegible] Kuomintang [illegible] [illegible] and

[illegible] a particular [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] programs directed

[illegible]

PERSONAL ARTS OF THE EDUCATED ELITE

We have already [illegible] the emergence in [illegible] of a movement in painting [illegible] and [illegible] scholar-officials [illegible] movement [illegible] that was in some ways only [illegible] its awareness of past history [illegible] its [illegible] literary qualities [illegible] poetic [illegible]

In the overall history of Song art, this was a fairly minor movement, but impor[illegible] activities of its adherents [illegible] the Yuan [illegible] to the late Ming period, a [illegible] range of painting and calligraphy became relatively much more prominent and historically important. Few [illegible] can be [illegible] those with a classical literary education, although [illegible] become [illegible] sixteenth century because social and cultural [illegible] were [illegible] by [illegible] time. However, we should clarify the distinction from Song scholar-art [illegible] the [illegible] characteristics of Song scholar-artist painting—the artist's status as a government official and the rendering of poetic effects in painting—was as important in the Yuan to middle Ming periods. Many of the Yuan–Ming literati artists [illegible] brief [illegible] positions or none at all. This was in part due to historical circumstance. [illegible] southern Chinese were [illegible] official appointment by the Mongol rulers of the Yuan. At the beginning of the Ming a large number of scholars who were suspected of seditious leanings were persecuted, and the rise of eunuch power in a climate of generally increased governmental despotism made official careers [illegible] who could afford to ignore [illegible] wealth and status. Furthermore, most

[illegible] colored wares [illegible] designed during the Chenghua era (1465–1487) when artisans [illegible] underglaze blue [illegible] overglaze enamel greens, yellows, purples, or reds on the technique known as [illegible] on small cups and jars, in part because the expense of producing wares with such complex technique. The [illegible] emperors [illegible] another [illegible] of the [illegible] women on art production may have guided the taste for these [illegible] objects. The large [illegible] jar with carp and waterplants (fig. 8-25), produced in the Jiajing era (1522–1566), [illegible] a shifting courtly taste. These also make use of underglaze blue and overglaze enamel decoration, but with a much bolder palette of strong reds, blues, greens, yellows, and golds and without the delicacy of the joined colors technique. The jars are also thickly potted, and the subject matter of carp or goldfish suggests a popular origin, both [illegible] reference to the hobbies of ornamental fish breeding and to its symbolic [illegible] wishes for an abundance of wealth.

Yuan–Ming literati painting was poetic in a more limited sense than the Song. Most of the literati group were educated men of literary temperament, practitioners of essayistic forms which all contributed in various ways to their conceptions of painting. There was, however, comparatively less concern in this period with finding pictorial counterparts for poetic devices of metaphor and imagery.

Because this type of personalized painting was so significant in the Yuan–Ming period, we should review some of its characteristic features. Literati painters are often called amateurs, and this was [illegible] in a fine technical sense. Amateurs can mean various aspects of training and practice as well as compositional arrangements. Most literati artists of any period were not trained painting specialists, and they often had other identifiable "everyday" roles as potential artists, as connoisseurs, candidates and officials. They often cultivated an air of amateurishness in their work and most were highly learned in comparison to the technical capabilities of highly trained professionals, but their own styles demanded specialists in the manipulation of brush and ink. They were not specially favored or [illegible] in formal contexts such as court appointments or monastic institutions. Many did however spend much of their time in associations and hobbyist societies involved in some system of exchange of value for their art. This could take very indirect forms such as introductions to [illegible] or members of status or power or various kinds of barter arrangements for such things as medical care, hospitality, hand crafts, gifts of food and wine or presents of valuable art materials such as paper, silk or ink. Direct cash payments were less often [illegible], but probably not uncommon. In any case, most paintings were done for some kind of social purpose and involved compensation, however indirect.

In more positive terms we [illegible] literati art always had a strong component of social group identity. In the Yuan–Ming period we are considering, this group was primarily composed of educated gentlemen of scholarly or [illegible] temperament. They might come from prominent families or be local land holding gentry. Painting and calligraphy were social [illegible] in high [illegible] exchanged to certify relationships or obligations, and [illegible] frequently involved with social occasions. Such paintings might commemorate an event, gather friends or [illegible] of participating [illegible]. They might be circulated as a testimony of a claimed social bond.

[illegible] paintings could be [illegible] historical, and, in the Yuan–early Ming period, there was relatively little [illegible] of ancient masters as models. Instead, [illegible] was [illegible] valuable [illegible] quality in painting, a turning to the past as a source of value. The early Yuan painter Zhao Meng-fu said

> The spirit of antiquity is what is of value in painting. [illegible] there is no spirit of antiquity, even though there may be skill, it is to no avail. My own paintings seem to be quite simple and undistinguished, but [illegible] close to the past, [illegible] superior. The [illegible] selection of the connoisseurship of the ignorant.
>
> Bush and Shih, Early Chinese Texts on Painting, p. 154

Such statements [illegible] standards of judging art which [illegible] and [illegible] of taste and knowledge in another age, of shared group values. The widespread valorization of the past does mark an important cultural turning point, of a kind, perhaps, [illegible] innovative styles and representational techniques is counterbalanced by a nostalgia for the past and a strong awareness of its significance for the present.

Literati paintings are sometimes identified as self-expressive, and [illegible] traces of the artist's feelings. This is often overstated, since many such paintings are thoroughly conventional works deriving more from conventions such as genre and situation than direct self-expression. Some of his statements, such as Zhao's comments on his landscape painting, allude to self-expression and resident, non-representational constraints.

> [illegible] bamboo simply to express the untrammeled spirit in my breast. Then how can I judge whether it is like or not, whether its leaves are luxuriant or sparse, its branches slanting or straight? Often when I have doubted and rubbed away it, [illegible] this is seeing this take it to be temporary

[illegible] Since I cannot bring myself to argue [illegible] I have no choice but to [illegible] what is the [illegible] Bush and shih. *Early Chinese Painting* [illegible]

As with Zhao Meng's stylistic [illegible] of antiquity, the primary emphasis is on [illegible] than his own [illegible] *chiaroscuro* [illegible] *lesciuscuro* [illegible] *Egrihl* [illegible] both a very sophisticated [illegible] represents a [illegible] aims and standards [illegible] the [illegible] paintings [illegible] personal [illegible] other [illegible] of brush [illegible] and the adaption of [illegible] and [illegible] marks [illegible] as the work of a [illegible] person. This was partly because [illegible] such [illegible] biography [illegible] from the social [illegible] as much as from the quality of the work. The paintings partook of the value system of the literati, making an distinction in both the senses of being distinguishable and being by distinguished persons.

Another characteristic of Yuan-Ming [illegible] painting [illegible] interest in [illegible]. Many such paintings are landscapes and very often they are represent [illegible] for the [illegible] and mountain dwellings, retreats and studios, locally famous scenic spots or historical sites. This is another way in which such paintings could be personal [illegible] biography or situation of the artist, recipient or both.

When we combine the emphasis in Yuan-Ming [illegible] personalization through style [illegible], and local association [illegible] aesthetic and [illegible] it seems clear that the kind of painting was primarily [illegible] a sphere of [illegible] for the case of educated but [illegible] independent gentlemen. The valorization of [illegible] also suggests a conservative [illegible] among [illegible] and [illegible] and holders whose aspirations [illegible] and power were threatened by Mongol [illegible] or by the [illegible] Ming political [illegible]

[illegible] Lundsgren [illegible] Xu Yuan [illegible] Zhao Mengfu [illegible] 254–327) [illegible] who took a high [illegible] Mongol Yuan regime [illegible] style and [illegible] the [illegible] seven aspects [illegible] [illegible] archaic [illegible] by Zhao's time [illegible] 5.26–5.28 above. The [illegible] painting [illegible] Koichi [illegible] has [illegible] as an [illegible] character [illegible] since he had [illegible] superiority [illegible] in other words, of mountains and valleys. Zhao's [illegible] of [illegible] and [illegible] and amorous [illegible] political service [illegible]

The archaic and decorative blue-and-green style was one available mode of conveying [illegible] of excess, but a much more [illegible] manner in the Yuan-Ming period was a monochromatic ink-on-paper mode that [illegible] production. This allowed the artist to experience the making of the painting as a consumable [illegible] painting both as an individual product and as one which encouraged a bond between painting and viewer. Now we have emphasized the importance of themes of women's culture in Song period art and some related subjects in the Yuan-Ming period (see Figs. 7.34–7.35 and 8.4 above). We should note the appearance of a notable woman artist in the early Yuan period, Guan Daosheng, Zhao Mengfu's wife. She was a woman of education and culture, a poet and painter whose surviving works are monochrome images of bamboo, the pine, such as bamboo and rocks. Bamboo [illegible] Mi Yuanzhang [illegible] 8.7) is a [illegible] work in the manner with a certain delicacy [illegible] of the slender [illegible] The work is also dedicated to a woman, evidence of another mode of women's cultural participation.

8-28 Wang Conwang
1264–1334, Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains
[illegible]

[illegible] must achieve a balance. [illegible] painting [illegible] and [illegible] that is harmonious in painting. But [illegible] plain [illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible]

Bush and [illegible] Zan's [illegible] Trends in Painting

[illegible] of personalization—through the [illegible] description, the association with the [illegible] and the style—so that a normal system of production that made the work [illegible] painters.

[illegible] personalization [illegible] painting of landscapes of symbolic [illegible] such as bamboo [illegible] representations. [illegible] quite [illegible] contemporary

[illegible] Ni Zan's [illegible] painting [illegible] Mountains [illegible] Ni Zan's [illegible] was a [illegible] and calligraphic as well as a landscape and bamboo painter. The young artist has been perceived as a man of means and culture, [illegible] by scholars and supported by patrons, has [illegible] painting lines, books, and paintings. Along with a factory inscription [illegible] an older [illegible] process. Ni Zan [illegible] quaness that was manifested both in his [illegible] obsessive [illegible] personal cleanliness [illegible] the [illegible] is bringing water and towels for washing [illegible] he carefully [illegible] brought [illegible] the spirit [illegible] Ni Zan's [illegible] style and [illegible] his own [illegible] and [illegible] such [illegible] society. The [illegible] drawing of the [illegible] through Ni Zan's own is simple [illegible] and [illegible] temperament. The portrait celebrates Ni Zan as an exceptional person, but has [illegible] personal [illegible] conveyed mostly by [illegible] symbols and elements. This was a continuing [illegible] which appears also in Ni Zan's late landscapes. Ni's [illegible] or lake scenes [illegible] with [illegible] distant hills [illegible] serve as poignant evocations of displacement from his home estate under pressure from Yuan officials, which [illegible] by inscriptions [illegible] symbolic [illegible] and personal circumstance [illegible] adapted [illegible] other [illegible] in his Rongxi Studio [illegible] 1372. This work

[illegible] form this long, [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] calligraphy [illegible] history [illegible]

8-29 Anon. Portrait of Ni Zan

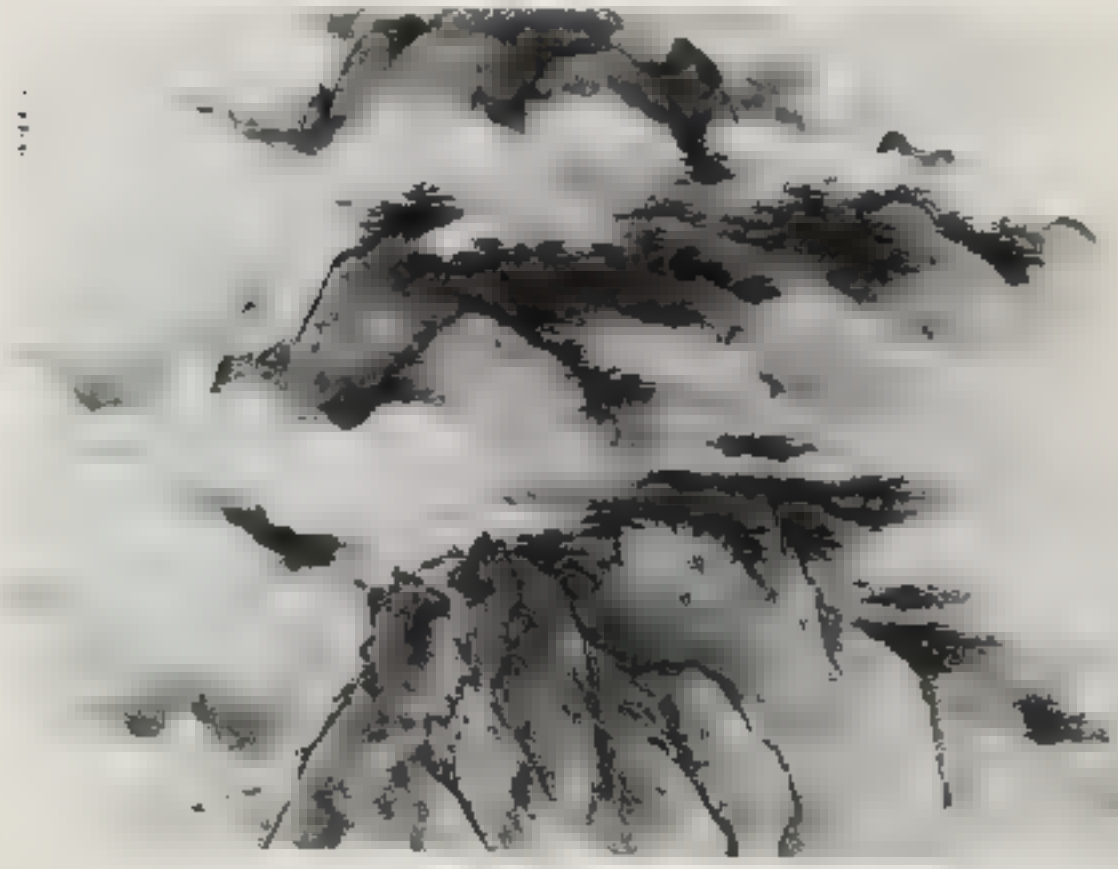
was painted in advance. His lucid description of the physical character of his studio, a purpose recorded in Ni Zan's precise, emphatic, calligraphic exactitude, he opted for the scroll. This type of landscape was thus by this time primarily a vehicle of Ni Zan's identity, which he could exchanged for tangible favors from the privileged recipient. None of this diminishes the subtlety of his work, which achieves a sense of wildness and abandon consistent with the most eccentric use of pale ink and angled touches of the brush.

The achievement of literati painting in the Yuan dynasty opening up a dialogue between the visual performance in response to what had emerged earlier in the calligraphy and painting, but not fully realized in Sung painting such as Mi Fei's painting. The work of Ni Zan's contemporary Wang Meng (c. 1309–1385) indicates the range of possibilities available through his conception of painting. His *Dwelling in Seclusion in the Qing Bian Mountains of 1368* (Fig. 8-31) is nearly an abstract work in style. It is densely textured, monumental and dynamic with a broad range of tone and dark luminosities. The situation of the artist, even if it was the degree to which literati painting in this period was a matter of local social or familial networks. Wang Meng was the maternal grandson of Zhao Mengfu (see Fig. 8-26) and not only made the painting, for a consanguineous commemorative family memorial, but also he had been disenfranchised at the end of the Yuan period. The landscape combines reminiscences of a tenth or eleventh century monumental landscape style but in a manner which emphasizes the complexity and ambiguity appropriate to the contemporary situation of social disengagement and withdrawal.

The widespread emphasis on locale in Yuan painting may in part have represented a response to the conquest, particularly among literati painters who came from relatively well-to-do families. Another case involves the physician-painter Wang Yuan who devoted himself to the study of the western sacred range known as Sumeru. He travelled here and became steeped in the lore of the place producing a large scale album of forty leaves accompanied by extensive inscriptions in 1362. Wang Yuan was an educated artist and writer who might be considered one of the literati, including his representationally ambitious style in the range of what he produced. However, his "Essay on Painting Mount Hua" de Ibernicey opposes the claims of contemporary educated artists and their emphasis on the expression of ideas over formal keenness. Most of all he decries representational accuracy and formal keenness as the paramount value in painting.

> Although painting is representational, it is not this alone. The expression of ideas is the meaning is sufficient. One may say that a painting is not even representational. Nor is it only basic or classical forms. One discards these forms, while can one find the spirit. Thus one who realizes the actual forms has a painting in which the forms are united with ideas. What form of representation it is

8–31 Wang Meng (c. 1309–13). *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains*, 1366. Ink and color on paper, 14 in. × 10 ft. 4 in. (35.6 cm × 3.15 m). Beijing, Palace Museum.



8.12 Wang Lu, c. 1332–c. 1391. *The Top of Bear Dragon Ridge*

[illegible] Wang adopt [illegible]

[illegible] however and adapts to the [illegible] graph and [illegible] has [illegible]

[illegible] information has invited comparison with [illegible] Fa[illegible]

[illegible] see page [illegible] above. It was Mo[illegible] [illegible] was his teacher and [illegible] who [illegible] your master [illegible] replied [illegible] like my heart [illegible]

[illegible] and its [illegible]

[illegible] became the most important [illegible] [illegible] painters of the early [illegible] Middle Ming. Such [illegible] commercial prosperity and emergence [illegible] handicraft and textile production [illegible] [illegible] which is emerging renown as a garden [illegible] established [illegible] from a congenial environment for art patronage and art production. [illegible] though such [illegible] has an increasingly dynamic [illegible] environment [illegible] though [illegible] has [illegible] much [illegible] and emphasized [illegible] either as a reflection of the opportunities of prosperity or as a deliberate avoidance of the values [illegible]

Shen Zhou (1427–509) was the very type of [illegible] [illegible] family [illegible] from the necessity [illegible] ing a living. He never undertook an official career devoting himself instead to literary and artistic pursuits at his estate and in the society of the Suzhou region. His subjects were mainly familiar sites, famous nearby scenery and historical places and social gathering spots in contrast to the tenuous hermitages and unpopulated scenery of so much of Yuan literati painting. He often worked in [illegible] formats [illegible] a [illegible] single theme an innovation in late Yuan-early

B-33 Shen Zhengming (1470–1530)
Four rocks and [illegible]

8. *Shen Zhou* (1427–1509), "Jade Peak Mountain," hanging scroll

Ming period that allowed for deception and variations of subjects. One such album is most devoted to the passage of time, the theme underlying the importance of long separations and reflections. [illegible] pare Shen Zhou's leaf *Pavilion Mountain* (fig. 34) with the Southern Song color ist Ma Yuan's *On a Mountain Path in Spring* (fig. 33), also in the genre of treatment of poetry/painting problems. Shen Zhou's leaf is much more personal, because he selected his own poetic verses and wrote them down in his own hand, full of evocations of missing a departed friend.

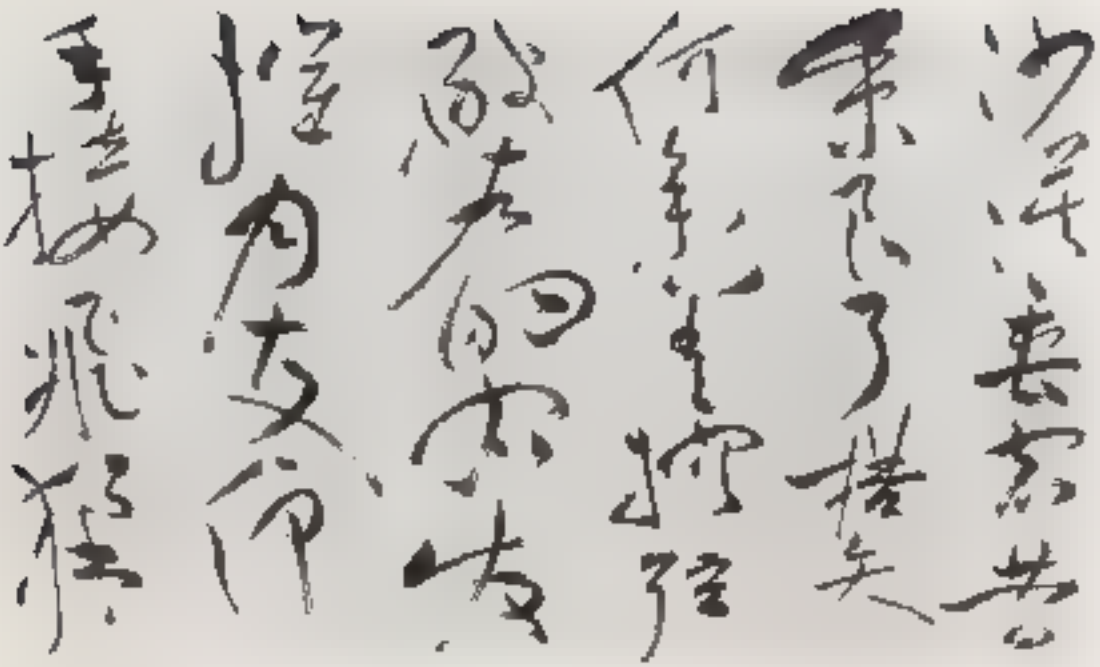
> While clouds hide a well-trodden path, the mountain is [illegible]
>
> A stone terrace, empty of space and human footprints,
>
> I sit alone on my rock, his staff and [illegible] shut [illegible]
>
> Who, by sounding [illegible] would answer [illegible] voice?
>
> [illegible]
>
> *Pavilion*, p. 85

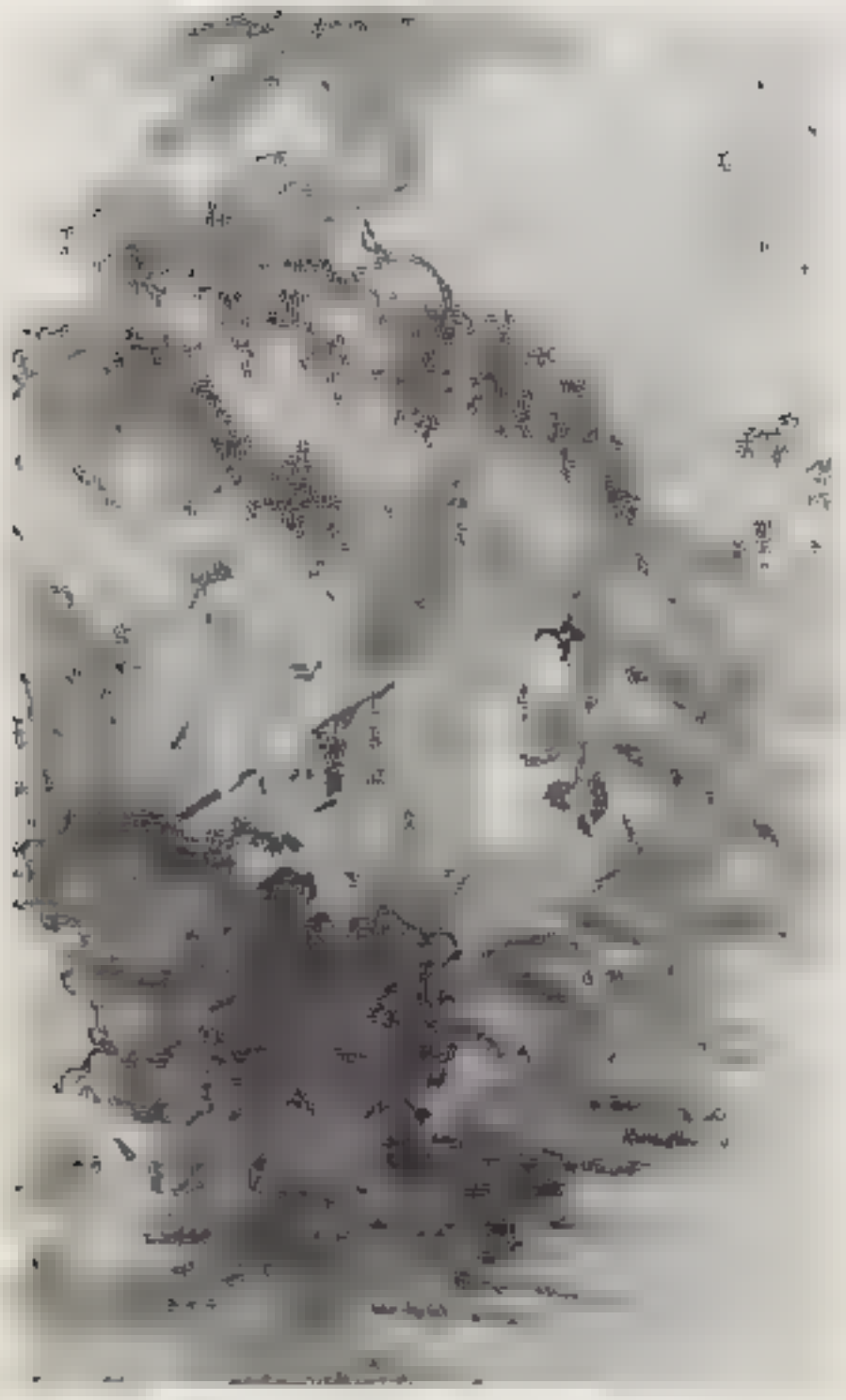
Ma Yuan's style could also illustrate a court poet who was in the hand of a member of the imperial family. In the other hand, Shen Zhou's images are merely observations, [illegible] graphic of conveying [illegible] through posture and expression as Ma Yuan's figures do. Instead, Shen Zhou's mount brush work is a [illegible] graphic patterns of his [illegible] personal qualities of character and [illegible]. Shen Zhou's work was already widely [illegible] in his own [illegible] delivery [illegible] acquiring a market value [illegible]

Shen's [illegible] Wen Zhengming (1470–1559) [illegible] Wen made a couple of [illegible] and [illegible] but also Shen Zhou's [illegible] [illegible] Beijing as a [illegible]

[illegible] countryside than Shen's work. The painting [illegible] a sociable [illegible] of [illegible] in the form of [illegible] the lower portion [illegible] scroll. The upper half of the picture is given [illegible] [illegible] against a [illegible] smooth [illegible] the surrounding heavy [illegible] peaks. The [illegible] personal [illegible] science and [illegible] points are [illegible] clarity [illegible] branches and waterfall have reflected the hieroglyphic [illegible] of memory.

[illegible] Zhao [illegible] graphic. His more powerful works are large character compositions of the [illegible] stable compositions of Yan Zhenqing of the Tang combined with a giant power derived from Huai [illegible] nian of the North [illegible] Song (see fig. 6.3 [illegible] above). More [illegible] individualistic are the cursive [illegible] of Huang Tingjian of the South [illegible] contemporary [illegible] the early man Zhao Yunming (1461–1527). Zhao's work [illegible] as [illegible] his wild cursive rendering of *Poems by [illegible]* (fig. 8.35) [illegible] before his death [illegible] speed and intensity above all, which [illegible] characters [illegible] slashing [illegible] freedom.





H-37 Tang Yin
+70- 152+ Tao Gu Presents a Poem

[illegible] experience that could not be expressed. Later commentators [illegible] the work understood it as a political criticism [illegible]

[illegible] Chen's [illegible] Yuzhe it was Tang Yin (+70- 152+) whose life exemplifies the complexities that [illegible] Tang was [illegible] in scholarship and the arts with seemingly effortless ease. [illegible] that promised him an official career [illegible]

[illegible] he threw [illegible] he became [illegible] a cheating scandal [illegible] Suzhou forced [illegible] on his wife and his [illegible] ons. He said he provided [illegible] of his life [illegible]

[illegible] and [illegible] compositions such as [illegible] and [illegible] during later Ming [illegible] and Yin [illegible] character [illegible] though [illegible] based on his real life activities [illegible] exemplifying the [illegible] of the [illegible] and [illegible] associate urban artist [illegible] encouraging [illegible] the pleasures of wine and female [illegible]

Tao Gu Presents a Poem

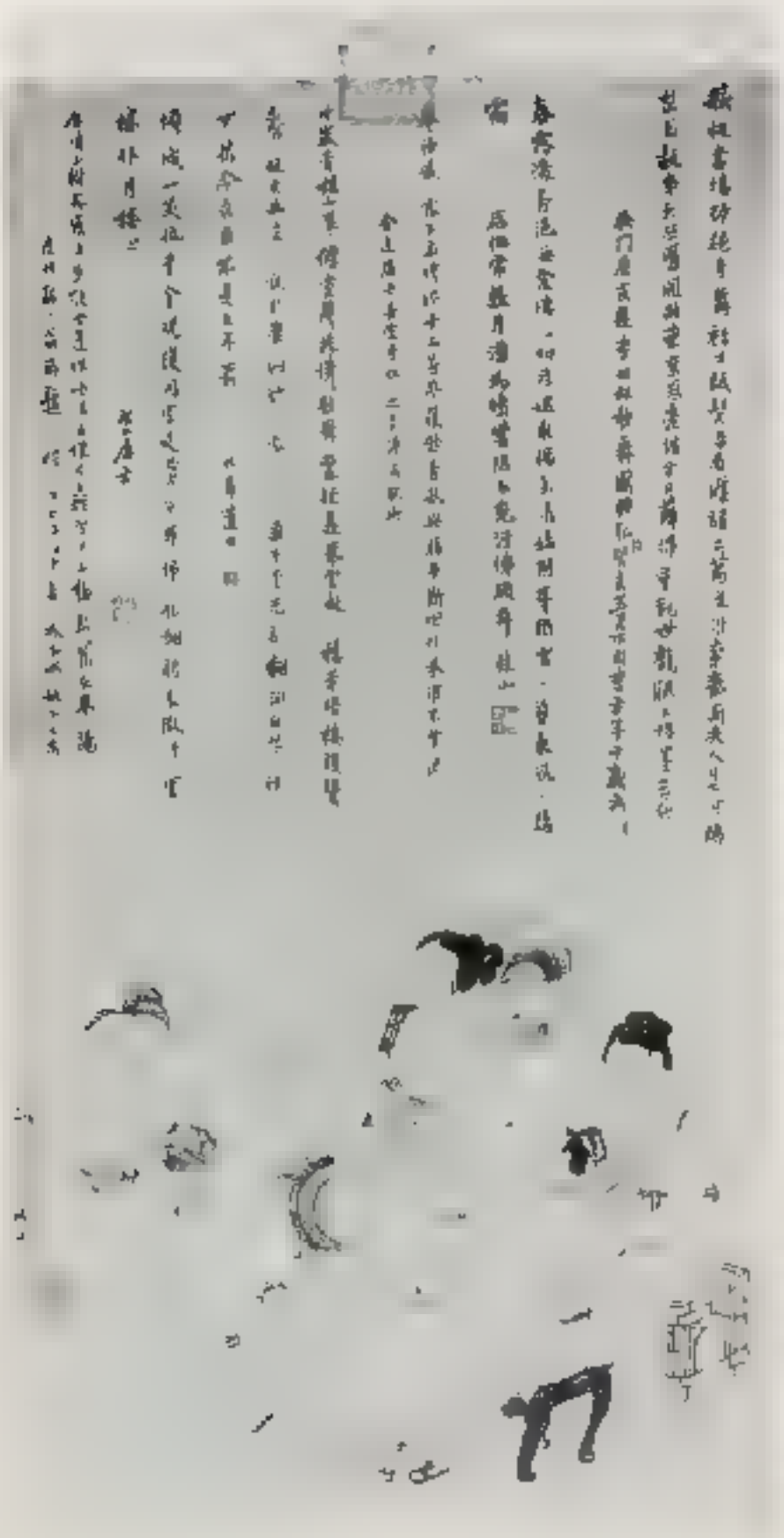
[illegible] the contemporary landscapes [illegible] as turned into a [illegible] character. The [illegible]

[illegible] and state. After [illegible] and spend [illegible] the night with her. Tao Gu [illegible] and [illegible] her [illegible]

his great embarrassment. The painting [illegible] the event [illegible] as Tao kept the [illegible] playing [illegible] nted with painted screen landscapes [illegible] cupted gardens [illegible] Both the setting [illegible] suggest contemporary Suzhou gardens [illegible] Tang Yin's pleasure seeking as much [illegible] Tang Yin's poem [illegible] the protected [illegible]

[illegible] the [illegible] in the [illegible] lover's image [illegible] his lover a short po[illegible] have been the [illegible] would not have blushed when again we met [illegible] Rich p. 183

Tang Yin responded to the urban marketplace [illegible] several ways. Like his teacher Zhang Hong he produced many large cityscape and figure paintings in a [illegible] version of the Ming and



Hsü Wei Wei (1599–1608), Little Sparrows

[illegible] memorialization. The subject of the scrolls needs [illegible] close relationship with Tang Yin [illegible] with a piece attributed to the work of renowned and [illegible] somewhat aloof figure who [illegible] antiques [illegible] those other [illegible] as much [illegible] recent studi[illegible]

[illegible] suggestion [illegible] kind [illegible] for a potential cus- [illegible] is another kind of display and [illegible] an advertisement [illegible] has come [illegible] veneer [illegible] culture [illegible] home accom- [illegible] objects [illegible] protection. The hanging [illegible] of a healthy entertainment dis- penses with the usual genteel locations of presenting

contemporary [illegible] pleasure as famous beauties such as Pan Jinlian or as anonymous as a concubine. This is a historical figure only in his years, as a [illegible] painting and depicted as a doll-like waif. [illegible] objects of a cat's [illegible] according to the [illegible] Although [illegible] extreme and somewhat [illegible] case, this scene offers [illegible] models were young adolescents whose prime concern might be [illegible] by [illegible] each [illegible] This sort of [illegible] and pleasure seeking was as much a part of [illegible] as [illegible] and generated as well [illegible] Song and Qing periods, but it was seldom [illegible] as [illegible] as here. The artist Wu Wei (1459–1508) was another [illegible] and both painting and the calligraphy Zhu Yunming [illegible] who [illegible] the painting [illegible] of drunk and known for his [illegible] decorum. Wu split his career between time as a professional painter in Nanjing and service as a court painter in Beijing. Like Tang Yin, he exemplifies the [illegible] view of [illegible] in which [illegible] was the supreme value, discussing even excesses of self-indulgent or eccentric behavior. Wu Wei's [illegible] suggested appetites, drunk and dishes [illegible] for an imperial audience, where he [illegible] forgiveness for admiration with a heavy [illegible] performance of scribbled and smeared [illegible].

The life of another Suzhou professional painter, Qiu Ying (c. 1495–1552), exemplifies the ways in which artists [illegible] categories of patronage and performance. Qiu was a pure painter, with no [illegible] education [illegible] as a [illegible] grapher. Since he lessons he was adopted by and associated with [illegible] of letters such as Wen Zhengming. On the basis of his extraordinary talents in representational [illegible] painting, Mr. Chou's painting was devoted to [illegible] such as figures or [illegible], or scholars in gardens listening to music or engaging in artistic and literary pursuits. Qiu's endeavors were [illegible] however, much more [illegible] [illegible] Hanjin [illegible] house of [illegible] He also made [illegible] classic works, and [illegible] the [illegible] atmosphere and [illegible] Qiu [illegible] pawnbroker Sang [illegible] amassed a huge [illegible] Hermann [illegible] Qiu's [illegible] make copies [illegible] works of [illegible] and [illegible] convey [illegible] the [illegible] atmosphere of [illegible] Suzhou [illegible] [illegible] more than a [illegible] ministers [illegible] painting the Spring Morning in the Han Palace handscroll [illegible] which [illegible] many [illegible] paintings in Sang's collection. The work has [illegible] and [illegible] references, [illegible] of a much more directly erotic kind than the sort of [illegible] associated with literati painting, with a subject centered on palace life and having many [illegible] painting, but [illegible] spirit [illegible] from both official and personal painting. Qiu [illegible] as a [illegible] palace [illegible] decorated in marble and silk [illegible] and peacocks, in which palace women [illegible] about [illegible] world of entertainment and self-aggrandizement. The painter [illegible] open up [illegible] viewer [illegible] projecting and [illegible] have [illegible] Quotations from surviving [illegible] works such as The Night Revels [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] scene [illegible] court portrait [illegible] works [illegible] a table with [illegible] dishes [illegible] painting a portrait of an empress or imperial consort, and allowing the viewer to compare [illegible] the figure of his subject. The painter seems a surrogate for Qiu Ying, who may have provided viewers or patrons behind-the-scenes glimpses of the secrets of palace life and artists' practices, which [illegible] the task [illegible] explication and [illegible] the desiderata of his patrons.

ART SYSTEMS AND CIRCULATIONS: LATE MING TO MIDDLE QING

A major political and cultural transition in 17th-century China, the period comprising the late Ming and the early Qing dynasties, took place between 1580 and 1800. In 1644 the Ming regime in Beijing collapsed, marked by the last five emperors' powerful eunuchs and vicious factional struggles among bureaucrats, followed by a rebellion led by a former Ming general, and soon after by the rise of the Manchus. The Manchus, descendants of the Jurchen people, established the Northern Chinese Qing dynasty, as the Song dynasty had consolidated their rule in the face of a rival Southern Ming regime and substantial continuing resistance and rebellions based in southern China, that took place in various forms until 1683. Some of these conflicts, including the formal campaigns against Ming loyalist cities such as Nanjing and Jiangyin, which ensured thousands of soldiers and civilians were slaughtered, continued long after the death of the last Ming pretender to the throne in Yunnan in the 1660s and in western China in 1696.

This dramatic era of resistance, suppression, and continued resentment against the Manchus by the Chinese subjects has colored our understanding of the late-seventeenth-century Ming/Qing transition as an epochal moment of rupture. In addition, the style of Jingdezhen ware with its emphasis on central control, orthodoxy, and system in both the political and the artistic arenas, was notably different from the stagnation, individualism, and experimental taste of the late Ming. E

ven aside from economic and social trends as our primary basis for organization, however, there were important linkages across this era. It was first and foremost a period of great prosperity and population growth during which China grew in becoming a major world economic and political power. Even with the interruptions caused by increased military tensions during the decades of the Manchu conquest, China experienced a steady population growth of around 300 million by the late eighteenth century. Trade and commerce flourished with the emergence of interregional market centers and new urban and regional centers of prosperity. Southern Anhui Province and the city of Jingdezhen, both located in southern China, are notable examples where imperial and commercial patronage stimulated book publishing, painting, calligraphy, [illegible] culture, and [illegible] of wealth.

Following the Prehistoric Age (to 9,000 BP), an overview of sections led by the Qing court artist Xu Yang (c. 1750) incorporates many prominent features of late Ming and early Qing art. The bird's-eye viewpoint and panoramic vistas of a landscape of more than forty feet long are reminiscent of the painting [illegible] of the Song era (see fig. 7.3 above), which itself was overlaid with [illegible] archaisms and [illegible] several times during the Jin and Yuan periods. Xu's busy urban prosperity, with views of streets, shops, bridges, and the local population. Sui

9.1 Anon., Beauties Before a Curio Case
One 18th-century Ch[illegible]

[illegible] and
[illegible]

[illegible] frames the clean beauty of [illegible] with notable [illegible] the imperial [illegible] including examples [illegible] Ming and Qing [illegible] Ming underglaze red [illegible] more [illegible] appeal [illegible] and rally [illegible] the accurate [illegible]

[illegible]

paintings make [illegible] ecological [illegible] to the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

Publishing abundantly illustrated with woodblock prints flourished as does any [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] manuals of cookery, [illegible] techniques. Systems of production included the [illegible] and [illegible] of [illegible] court painting and elaborate organizations of [illegible] and ceramic [illegible] Qing. [illegible] was systematic on a broader [illegible] [illegible] compilations of classics—[illegible] dictionaries and encyclopedias among others—sponsored by the imperial court. An [illegible] was a tangible basis for the movement of art and craft goods at local, regional and national levels. Information also implies [illegible] of styles and themes between different forms and media and [illegible] of knowledge about art and standards of taste between social groups.

WOODBLOCK ILLUSTRATION

The medium of woodblock illustrated [illegible] prints flourished as does any. Print images already had a long history in China, originating during the ninth century with [illegible] Buddhist [illegible] and including illustrated treatises on astrology and artistic themes in the Song and Yuan periods. Many illustrated editions of dramas, Buddhist sutras and mountain books were published in the Yuan and early/mid-late Ming periods. The last century of the Ming era saw both an increase in the use of illustration and a greater variety and sophistication of pictorial devices and techniques, including multi-colored prints. Publishing was a business here and also Ming illustrations reflect a wider commercial [illegible] of culture as well as a broadening [illegible] for works of fiction and drama, encyclopedias, catalogues, guides and manuals, including guides to [illegible] and [illegible] manners. The broadening market and success of illustrated books [illegible] the participation of major painters as print designers. These were only one aspect of a dive [illegible] image and [illegible] from single-sheet popular New Year's prints and crude [illegible] illustrated cheap editions of plays to sophisticated editions [illegible] by [illegible] studios of specialist block cutters and designers, working in distinctive styles, had shown great ingenuity and skill.

Woodblock prints thus encompassed many of the leading features of late Ming and early Qing artistic culture. They were printed [illegible] commercial enterprises whose centers in the southeast at Anhui, Fujian, Nanjing and Suzhou had [illegible] a wider [illegible] of [illegible] and [illegible] Prints intersected with many media and art forms, including drama, fiction and painting, increasingly available to a more widely educated and appreciative public whose [illegible] and skills were aided by pictorial guides and manuals of taste. Such publications were part of a trend to systematize [illegible] knowledge by external independent publishers in the late Ming. The great encyclopedic projects of the Qing court. Publishing [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] were collected in genres of society and culture and made the late Ming and early Qing era when the court, urban and scholarly spheres were [illegible] impacted by such genres as commercial [illegible] and [illegible] Other popular themes for print illustrations included love stories and tales of heroism, which reflect an emerging concern with themes of human feeling and psychological conflict.

Among the most popular dramas of the period was *The Peony Pavilion*, written around 1600 by the playwright Tang Xianzu, a contemporary of Shakespeare. The story illustrates the power of love in the [illegible] Bridal Du [illegible] pines away, dies and is resurrected by the imagination of her [illegible] influenced in her desire by the image of a scholar in the house behind. The [illegible] illustration of the pavilion scene, in which one of the images of Bridal Du, the image in a mirror and her portrait, image [illegible] have much the same reality status (Fig. 9.3) conveys the confusion of realm and illusion which lies at the heart of the drama. This intermingling of the real and

9.3 Bridal Du Painting a Self-Portrait
From The Peony Pavilion, Ming Woodblock print, 1598. [illegible]

imaginary or [illegible] operatic [illegible] in late Ming culture. However much the mass [illegible] of the [illegible] the play [illegible] illustrated were, both in the public realm of performance [illegible]. Beyond the [illegible] world of the [illegible] drama, the play's [illegible] of interest and emulation among late Ming women, who wrote commentaries about the play and in [illegible] this case [illegible] the heroine's desire. The [illegible] of the earlier of *The Peony Pavilion* scene, Huang [illegible] Mingqu [illegible] the print [illegible] specialist [illegible] were achieving [illegible] independent reputation for their skills.

In other cases, dramatic illustrations attracted [illegible] artists, as in the print designs for a series of [illegible] a Yuan period romance [illegible] the [illegible] pattern of love between [illegible] scholar and beautiful [illegible]. The popularity of the play drew the interest of major artists such as Chen Hongshou (1598–1652; see Fig. 9-[illegible] below), who had to compete with other editions of [illegible] innovative approaches to problems of [illegible] illustration. Perhaps the most elaborate of these editions, from 1640, is known only from the name of its publisher, Min Qiji [illegible] the commercial motivation and sponsorship of such series. Multiple colors are used, along with [illegible] printing [illegible] to give depth and texture to the scenes. One of these images shows the heroine Yingying secretly reading a letter from her lover while being spied upon by her maid Hongniang (Fig. 9-4). The [illegible] of a painted screen is the setting for the event, accomplishes several purposes at once. It marks an arena of privacy and allows us to see the [illegible] of the maid so that the viewer has greater knowledge than the heroine. [illegible] the stage, with the screen serving the same purpose as a stage prop or scenery, although painted scenery as such was not a convention of Yuan and Ming drama. Having the heroine revealed only by her image in the mirror and by glimpses of her robe and sashes recalls staging in another way, the setting up of [illegible] levels of reality comparable to real actors performing [illegible] in the [illegible] space of a stage. In the print, the painted screen and mirror image have a greater visual presence than the real figures in the scene. This deliberate confusion of illusion, reality, and [illegible] is characteristic of [illegible] late Ming art.

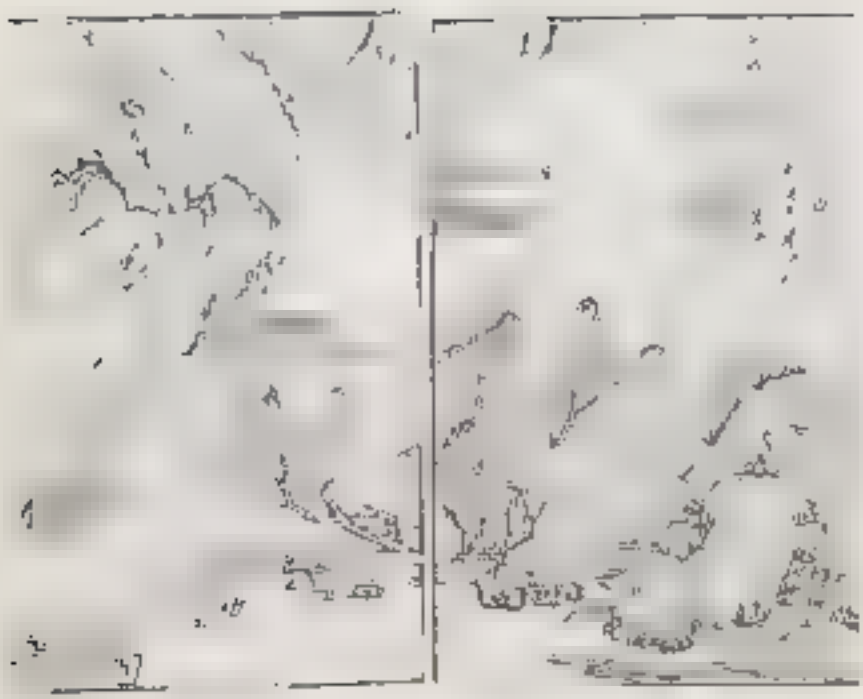
Illustrated editions helped to make important literary texts more widely known and accessible to a broader audience. Another influential genre [illegible] illustrated books of the seventeenth century [illegible] painting manuals, which [illegible] themes of desire and fantasy. Manuals [illegible] interest in systematic analysis and organization of painting genres [illegible]. Among the best known manuals was the *Ten Bamboo Studio Manual of Calligraphy and Painting*, completed in 1627, produced by the Nanjing publisher Hu Zhengyan (1584–1674). The preface announces its purpose as making knowledge of an [illegible] more widely accessible, although this was in some ways a luxury edition with elaborate [illegible] printing techniques and subtle effects of graded ink and [illegible] brush techniques. Motifs are grouped in [illegible] categories such as flowers, birds, and rocks, with the general effect of an elaborate [illegible] album.

Some decades later, [illegible] Nanjing artists under the leadership of the painter Wang Gai (1645–c. 1710) collaborated in the production of the [illegible] widely [illegible] *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Calligraphy and Painting*. The publisher of this compendium was the playwright and author Li Yu (1611–1680), owner of the Mustard Seed Garden Bookshop, who used an album of landscape sketches by the late Ming painter Li Liufang (1575–1629) belonging to his son-in-law as the basis of a volume on landscape painting styles. The genesis of the project illustrates the inter-mingling of fine

9-4 Min Qiji (1580–after 1661), *Yingying Reading a Letter from Student Zhang*

From an edition of the *Western Chamber*, Ming, 1640.

[illegible] Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Cologne



9-5 Wang Gu (1645–c. 1715), Landscape in the Tang Yin Manner

Manual of Calligraphy and Painting, Qing, 1679

Hand scroll, ink and color on paper, 9.5 × 48 in.

A wide range of painting and calligraphy manuals were an important means of disseminating pictorial knowledge and models. The Mustard Seed Garden Manual was reprinted and revised many times in China and Japan. It included sections on orchids and bamboo, flowers, symbolic plants and human figures, among other subjects, which amounted to the work of hundreds of individual artists that could be selected or combined for the user's own purposes.

and the transition from private sketchbooks to publicly accessible manuals. Beginning with a first edition in 1679, his work was reissued and supplemented many times in China and Japan over the decades and centuries, making it serviceable on symbolic plants, flowers and birds, portraits, and figures among other subjects, and it became one of the most widely used handbooks of painting techniques. Consistent with trends in Qing culture, there is much emphasis on systematic classification of motifs, types and techniques, down to the level of conventional ways of depicting tree and branch structures and exemplar strokes for mountains, rocks, and textured surfaces, using the metaphorical technology such as "axe cut" and "chop" texture strokes to describe painting surfaces. An array of component elements could be reconstituted in new versions of famous artists' styles and of compositions (fig. 9-5). There are parallels to this in the practical learning movement in the same period, which resulted in many published compilations that could be used for instruction. The *Mustard Seed Garden Manual* focuses on art-historical and technical concerns, but it serves a similar purpose as an encyclopedia of types and techniques. This approach, and the woodblock printed medium, in turn had an impact on the production of painting, as artists could choose works from ready-made, other graphic components.

LITERATI PAINTING AND CALLIGRAPHY

Another trend in pictorial issues of memory and systematic approach merged in late Ming, was the painting and calligraphy of literati, we have seen, but not as an all-purpose designation for educated artists, but the specific term translating the Chinese wenren, which came into wide currency in the late Ming period. Artists and critics used the term to emphasize the cultivation and accomplishment of a self-described group and as a point of distinction from those with sufficient status. The late Ming literati claimed the scholar-officials of the Song and the educated amateur outsider artists of the Yuan and early Ming as ancestors, but distinctions between the eras are still meaningful. As we have seen, Song scholar-officials explored the poetic potential of painting, while Yuan–Ming amateurs's emphasis on locality and personalization of painting. The late Ming literati promoted an anti-historical program of approved models for painting and a direct, out of acknowledged, relation as a basis

The literati approach could lead to very formulaic painting, saved from the pure conventionality of the painting manuals and to the idiosyncrasies of the artist's calligraphic brushwork. There was [illegible] less about the [illegible] of a group, correctness in a period when education, including education about art, was becoming more widely accessible to non-elite groups. The literati artists on professional and court painters, and even in contemporary Nanjing, such as school artists who had [illegible] and [illegible] earlier scholar–amateur styles, should be seen in [illegible]

Dong Qichang (1555–1636), chiefly normalizer of the art-historical theory of literati painting. Dong had a career as a high government official in the late Ming, interspersed with long periods of retirement that provided him more time for painting, and sometimes with factional struggles at court. Coming from a modest family background, he amassed a large private art collection. Much of his art was dispersed after

9-6 Dong Qichang
1555–1636, Qing Dynasty
Calligraphy

[illegible] against a background of [illegible] status [illegible] estate [illegible]. The pattern of [illegible] against a background of [illegible] status [illegible] estate [illegible]. The pattern of [illegible] which is reformulated by approach [illegible].

The Northern and Southern schools developed in the [illegible] Dong Qichang [illegible] as basis for [illegible] division of approved and disapproved [illegible] and seeks to clarify [illegible] was [illegible] in their political and personal lives. The [illegible] School includes poets and other painters of the Tang and Song and [illegible] such as [illegible] and Shen Zhou (see Fig. 8-[illegible] and 8-34 above). The Dong also [illegible] Northern School includes academics and professional painters (see Fig. 8-4 above). Thus [illegible] have [illegible] but the [illegible] was less clear-cut than at first appears. Certain [illegible] painters such as [illegible] (see Fig. 7-21 above) and educated urban painters such as Tang Yin (see Fig. 8-37) are [illegible] comfortable [illegible] their camp. The Northern and Southern designations were not primarily geographical but were borrowed from Chan Buddhist [illegible] between Northern gradualist and Southern sudden enlightenment sects. This kind of intermingling of Buddhism and literary discourse is also [illegible] in the art of Dong Qichang. The [illegible] in some respects served as a memory device [illegible] Dong Qichang's past experience with old painting and [illegible] pattern.

Dong Qichang's paintings suggest a [illegible] engaging [illegible] incompatible [illegible] including [illegible] and current experience [illegible] and experimentation. This version of the Qing Bian Annotations (Fig. 9-6) is closely [illegible] the structure of the Yuan painter Wang Meng's rendering of the subject (see Fig. 8-3 above) which Dong Qichang owned for a time. The departures from the original are just as notable as we might expect from someone who disclaimed [illegible] copying [illegible] masterpiece [illegible] stimulus. Dong Qichang carries the spatial and structural [illegible] of Wang Meng's painting [illegible] each other with rocks that bulge forward in heavy masses hinder [illegible] seemingly incongruous [illegible] stamps that plunge

Orthodoxy and the Fate of Literati Painting

[illegible]

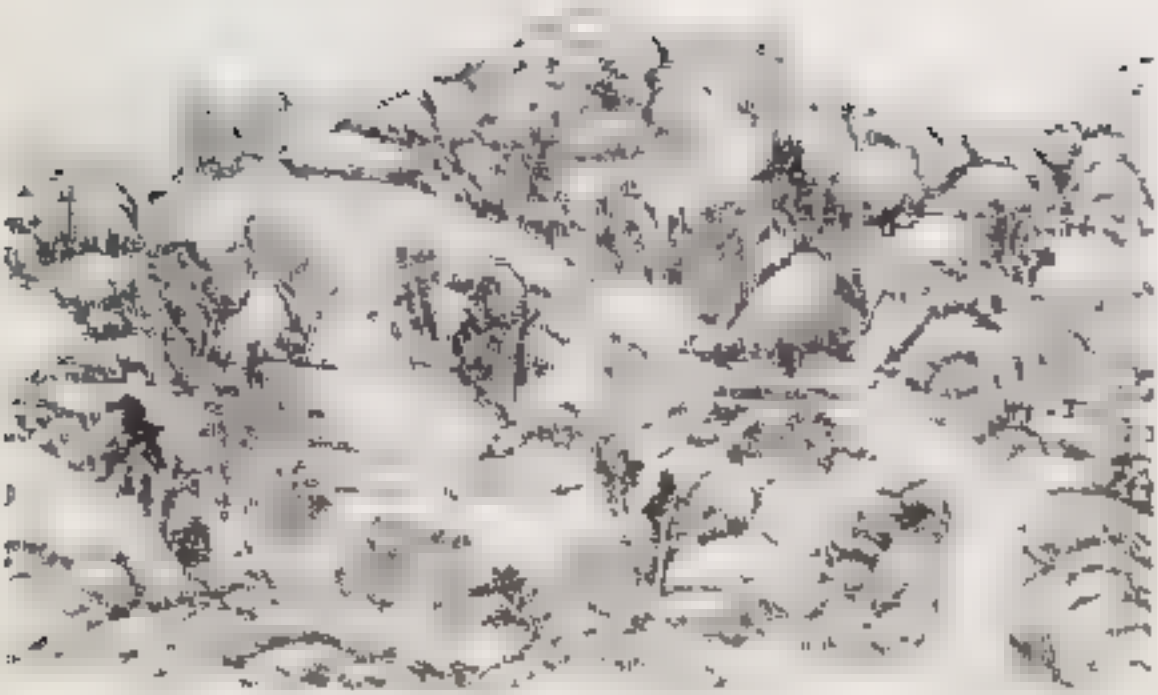
[illegible] Dong Qichang

[illegible] The most influential of the Orthodox painters was Wang Yuanqi (1642–1715), who [illegible]

[illegible] Qing court as one of several [illegible]

[illegible]

9-7 Yu Zhiding
1647–1716. Portrait of Wang Yuanqi Appreciating Chrysanthemums



[illegible] century somewhat at odds with [illegible] was claimed a [illegible] Wang Yuanqi's [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] wealth and refined taste found in the images [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the fourteenth century [illegible] [illegible] above.

Fabrics and Faces

[illegible] of Wang Yuanqi's [illegible] [illegible] step [illegible] approach [illegible] was [illegible] [illegible] the Peiwen Zhai [illegible] Calligraphy and Painting sponsored by the Kangxi [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] compendium of biographies, inscriptions, art theories, and catalogues becomes more [illegible] and [illegible] effort [illegible] among [illegible] scholarship, but [illegible] useful as a source book [illegible] quotations like the painting [illegible] of the period. Wang's more or [illegible] painting theory is systematic [illegible] another way, instead of Dong Qichang's concern with [illegible] such images as [illegible] abstract analysis of landscape painting into components, [illegible] and rhythms, moving and [illegible] opening and closing. This theory he has [illegible] in comparison with geomantic analyses of the underlying [illegible] physical landscape, but it also [illegible] the Yuan painter Huang Gongwang's understanding of landscape painting as primarily a construction of brush and ink [illegible] (see page 309 above)

[illegible] Yuan [illegible] can be [illegible] to exemplar landscape paintings [illegible] Tang [illegible] well-planned [illegible] famous Wangchuan Villa composition [illegible] Wang Yuanqi uses complementary warm and cool pigments, ochres and blues, to shape forms that harbor a power [illegible] tension between [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] The [illegible] ground planes [illegible] tension, while also conveying a reference [illegible] pictorial [illegible] Wang. Nevertheless, the eighth century, large reserve areas of clouds and water are shaped by surrounding [illegible] shapes, but ambiguous [illegible] stop and soften.

[illegible] painting was one [illegible] of literati painting [illegible] other was commercial [illegible] the later seventeenth century literati painting [illegible] kind [illegible] cultural [illegible] production [illegible] among many others. [illegible] of the eighteenth-century Nanjingshan and Zheng Xie (see page 346 below). Thus by the Qing period [illegible] the hallmarks of [illegible] [illegible] more [illegible] and styles [illegible]

[illegible] images and as the major place to see in antiquity were heavily romanticized. What remains of the original emphasis is largely the association with edifying artistic and moral showcases of painting with texts. It was enough to sustain a significant mode of painting that maintained energy through the nineteenth century and indeed down to our own day.

ARTS OF DESIRE AND MEMORY

The late Ming was a period of notable freedom from constraint and of experimentation in culture and morals as in the economic sphere. Themes of romance, desire, and sexuality figured prominently in drama and fiction, including the often condemned classic erotic novel *Jin Ping Mei* (translated variously as *The Golden Lotus* or *The Plum in the Golden Vase*). The Qing regime officially promulgated much more stringent cultural standards, including censorship of morally dubious texts but the composition of erotic and fantasy tales continued, inaugurated by such masters of uncanny and supernatural fiction as Pu Songling (1640–1715) and Yuan Mei (1716–1798), and the Qing court sponsored its own genre of painting, images of female beauties (see Fig. 9.1 above). Themes of memory took many forms in this period such as the intertwining of personal and anti-historical memory in Dong Qichang's late Ming approach to landscape painting. Another arena for the interplay of personal experience and historical consciousness was the painting and calligraphy of the loyalist subjects of the Ming who lived through the Qing conquest. Elements of deadness, regret, nostalgia, and grief were hitherto [illegible] in their work.

[illegible]

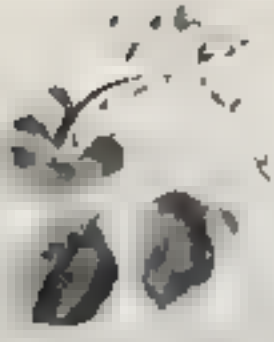
[illegible] the Ming to suite Qing paradigms and [illegible] such themes were of [illegible] unprecedented [illegible] Chinese painting, as we have seen with erotica is changed imagery in the Song era (see Fig. 7.23 above) and the prominence of memories and personal association in the literati painting of the Yuan into early Ming. What does seem new in the late Ming period and beyond is the commingling of emotions that are conveyed [illegible] ambivalence and irony are implied in the [illegible] of the artists and the images and writings. [illegible] seem comparable to a modern sense of [illegible] conflicts and the divided self. The sheer complexity of life in this period in which artists among others were forced to plumb [illegible] and [illegible] the discrepancies between traditional ideals and contemporary realities surely contributed to this phenomenon.

Although the inner worlds of memory and desire may seem a long way from the heavily [illegible] realms of the systematic production and circulation of goods and of objects, there are some important linkages. The tale of the prodigal heir of *The Golden Lotus*, the merchant Xuanji Zhang, reveals how immoderation in excess in the economic sphere [illegible] desire [illegible] self-indulgence in domestic and erotic life. Many of the memories that haunt the works of loyalist painters and writers were of relatively public historical events.

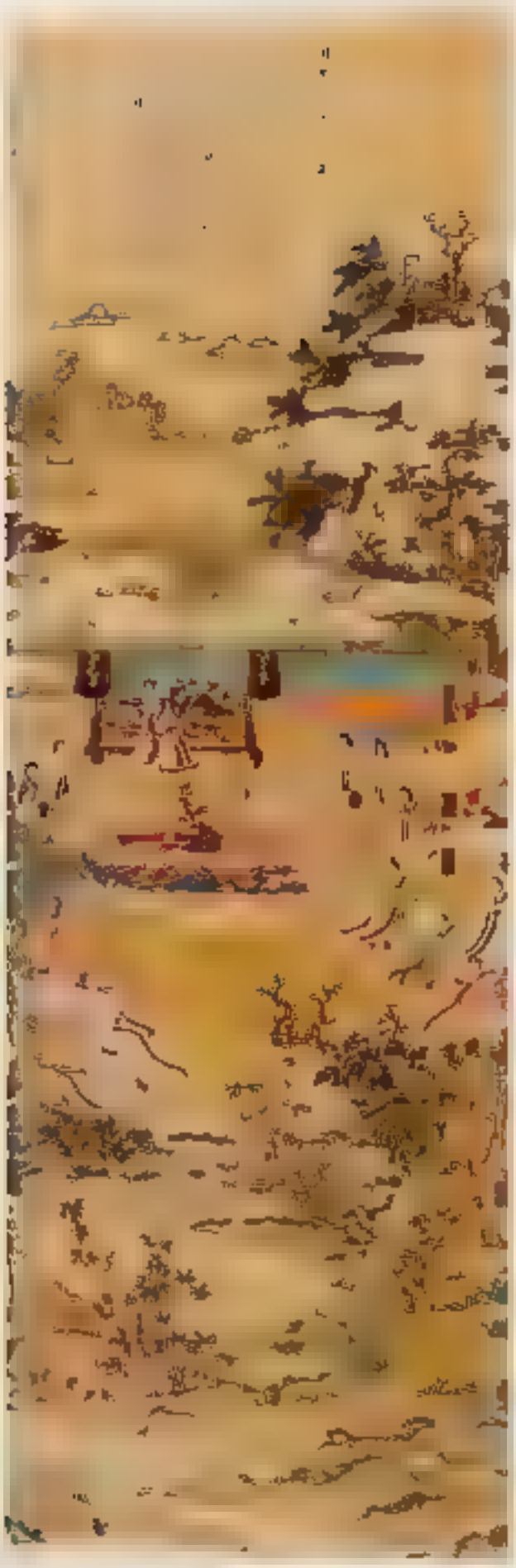
Chen Hongshou (1598–1652) had a varied career in southeastern China as a professional painter and designer of woodblock prints [illegible] occasions of drama and fiction and [illegible] and disappointing period of service to the Ming.

Chen had aspirations both to the status of a literatus and for meaningful official service, but he maintained life as an urban professional painter were less clear cut. He lived through the Manchu conquest of the Ming and took such names such as Cold and Ice Lake and Regretting Monk to express his loyalties to the Ming and his sense of [illegible] for not playing an effective role in preventing its downfall. However, he seems never seriously to have considered the [illegible] active military resistance or outright suicide chosen by many of his contemporaries.

[illegible] Xuanyuan and Guanyin, [illegible] for his [illegible] 60th birthday. Staged as an elaborate [illegible] tableau, it implies a comparison between an ancient hereditary woman scholar teaching a company of male students from a raised platform and a learned scholar female painter. The combination of humanity, identities, contemporary and historical is echoed in the brilliantly



4.30 C[illegible]
[illegible]
1598–1652 [illegible]
[illegible] carving
Illustrations [illegible]
[illegible]



[illegible] others gathering to view a miniature mountain [illegible] ed with [illegible] in their [illegible] illusions, shifts in scale from the miniature to the monumental, and the intermingling sounds [illegible] spaces of looking and being seen are all suggested here and in the observations of late Ming writers. Writing in Suzhou [illegible] during the Mid-Autumn Festival, Yuan Hongdao (1568–1610) [illegible]

> [illegible] is especially crowded on the Mid-Autumn Festival. Whenever the day arrives, [illegible] shoulder [illegible] out on their [illegible] and [illegible] make up. They spread out layers of mats and [illegible] the roadside [illegible]

[illegible] report on Hangzhou's West Lake at the Mid- [illegible]

> [illegible] the Mid-Autumn Festival [illegible] there is nothing [illegible] pleasure boats where music is played, wearing [illegible] children [illegible] sounds and [illegible] They themselves are [illegible]
>
> Strassberg, Inscribed Landscapes [illegible] p. 34

The richest evocation of late Ming desire is found in the novel The Golden Lotus, which was illustrated with woodblock prints during the late Ming and [illegible] with a set of one hundred album-leaf paintings. The latter are unsigned but are probably the work of an early Qing court painter such as Gu Jianlong, whose sketchbooks are discussed below (see fig. 9.27 below). Each leaf illustrates one chapter episode from the novel with particular attention to the material life and surroundings of the characters. Painted and carved

9.11 Wu Bin, [illegible] 1598–1626, Fukuoka Prefectural [illegible]

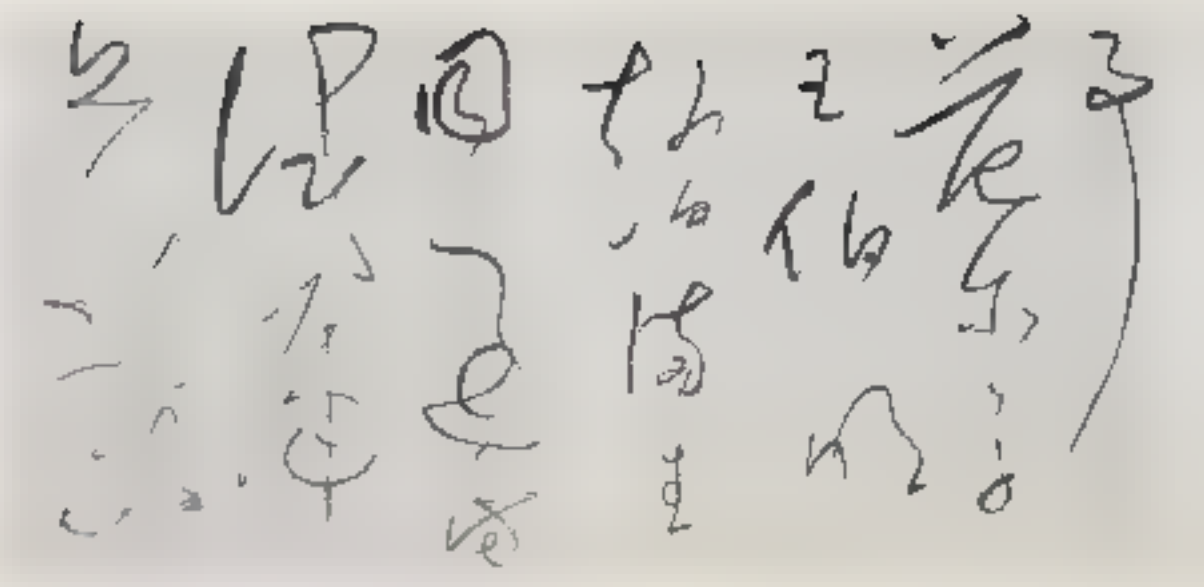
[illegible] ings and in the windows. Luxury objects of jade, gold and [illegible] of the elegant fabrics worn by members of the household or the merchant families, and so profusion [illegible] as the extravagance of unbridled desire [illegible] the pleasures of [illegible] objects. The licentiousness of humans [illegible] seems not [illegible] have [illegible] the [illegible] through the painters otherwise [illegible] a [illegible] This [illegible] was a [illegible] the [illegible] for the [illegible] The scene [illegible] as an outspoken image [illegible] wheeling [illegible] the concubine [illegible] the "golden lotus" of the [illegible] stripped naked and kneeling on a garden [illegible] 9.12). She is being [illegible] by several men [illegible] Xiaoqing, who suspects her of having had [illegible] while he was [illegible] away. The seated woman [illegible] maidservant who is supporting the mistress's [illegible] of innocence but whose mere presence [illegible] deepens [illegible] golden Lotus's humiliation. The sadistic [illegible] of emotion, from affection to anger, disdain, seems symptomatic as well of the instability of late Ming [illegible] fear [illegible] desire and its [illegible]

The association of erotic desire [illegible] objects is continued in late Qing [illegible] images of beautiful women in luxuriously furnished interiors. One [illegible] example [illegible] Beauty [illegible] Lady [illegible] cases [illegible] shelves and display alcoves filled with porcelains [illegible] various imperial wares [illegible] vases, [illegible] jades, corals and [illegible] (fig. 9.13). The [illegible] whose [illegible] have gestures conveys an invitation to the presumably [illegible] viewer is scarcely more [illegible] than the [illegible] behind her. Like [illegible], she is one of many [illegible] images [illegible] as a [illegible] object for display.

9.12 Style of Gu Jianhong, 1606–[illegible], [illegible] the Garden [illegible]

9.13 Xing Qichang

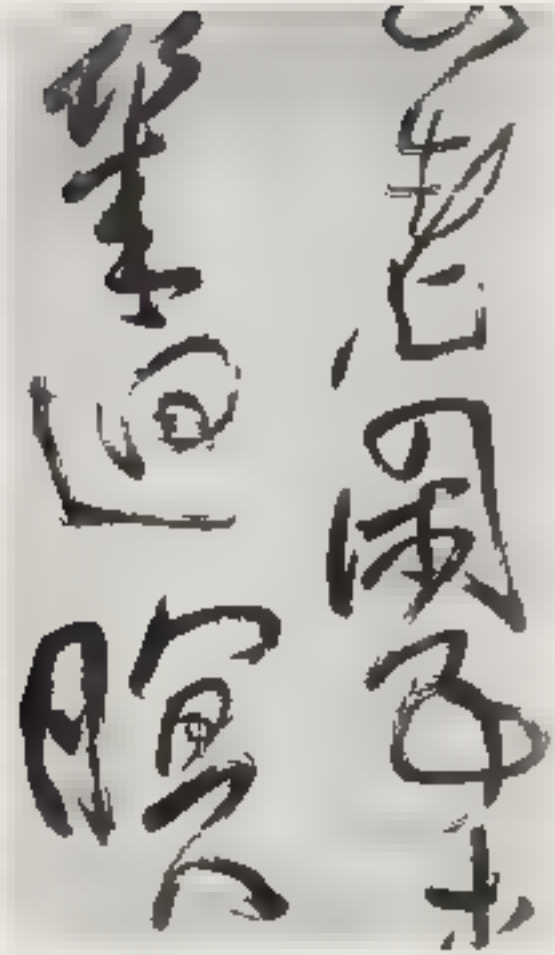
Calligraphy in Running and Cursive Script



Loyalty, Arts of Memory

The [illegible] Ming were [illegible] anxiety and [illegible] nostalgia produced anxieties about cultural and educational values among contemporary observers but for those who looked back from the more stable Qing the late Ming was the subject of nostalgia, remembrance and [illegible] of loss. While [illegible] regrets included [illegible] subjects who had been born under and owed allegiance to the fallen Ming regime but had lived under the Qing. The [illegible] goal was compounded by the character-example of those loyalists who had chosen suicide rather than surrender to the Manchus, and by the circle of sacrifices that occurred when loyalist cities in the south, such as Nanjing and Yangzhou, finally fell to the invaders. Many faced difficult practical choices between serving accommodation or outright resistance to the Manchu regime. After a transitional period that lasted almost a generation, there was widespread accommodation to the Manchu rulers, who were able administrators and the guardians of traditional Chinese culture. But many writers and artists continued associations with the works of loyalist friends and displayed expressions of loyalist sentiments within their work. For those with close connections to the fallen regime, this could be dangerous because the Manchus were rightly [illegible] resistance and Ming restoration movements, which continued for several decades after the conquest in 1644, and were severely [illegible] their suppression of potentially seditious expression.

The act of writing in China was so deeply charged with cultural implications that calligraphy could [illegible] important vehicle for political statements in ways that did not necessarily depend [illegible] calligraphic [illegible] Certain [illegible] proclamations and [illegible] have conveyed the [illegible] of the [illegible] regime. Since [illegible] was the [illegible] memorial [illegible] of the educated [illegible] whether remained or not, and the texts they copied [illegible] their studies, [illegible] texts and ideologies through both [illegible] and [illegible]. Because the [illegible] was so deep, the significance of a calligraphic text could be conveyed in a variety of ways. Text [illegible] was of course important, but overt political statements could be very dangerous during periods such as the Qing, when writing on such [illegible] was [illegible]. The production of such genres as private histories of the Ming was a seditious offense punishable by death. Sentiments disguised in historical or poetic allusions or the works of personal association displayed in the decorations of a calligraphic scroll were less [illegible] ways of conveying messages. Calligraphic styles could [illegible] the political positions and historical reputations of earlier writers. Less [illegible] style could be [illegible] almost endlessly in relation to the texts to point on the calligrapher



9-15 Zhu Da also known as Bada Shanren (1626–1705), Fish and Rocks

5 m. The Cleveland

[illegible]

his subjects a startled behavior. There is an edge of incoherence as well in many of his paintings. [illegible] plants, birds, and landscapes [illegible] are often fragmentary [illegible] image [illegible] seem [illegible] hermetically cryptic [illegible] only a way of masking [illegible] statements [illegible] few cases his work can be decoded. A handscroll of Fish and Rocks [illegible] dissociated delineations a view of [illegible] seen underwater or featuring some indeterminate space and a gaping anamorphic rock suggestive of a human head. Likewise [illegible] any ground or context. The accompanying poem [illegible] fish [illegible] aristocratic [illegible]—the artist also a recluse perhaps—unable to develop [illegible] dragons and recall memories of the holdout South[illegible] Ming court and the last claimants who were [illegible] Zhu Da [illegible] the Ming [illegible] The [illegible] allocations within the scene [illegible] gest both the artist's [illegible] memory and the fragmentary [illegible] intended [illegible] order.

The younger painter who [illegible] was a [illegible] relative was Shi [illegible] 1642–[illegible]. [illegible] a method [illegible] calligraphy and painting based on the "unitary brush stroke" or "primordial line" was both a [illegible] against the anti-historical methods of the Orthodox School painters and a wish to [illegible] forging reversion to the simplicity and unity of the [illegible] work of his childhood. Shitao imbued his monumental painting showing the waterfall on Mount Lu (no. 16) with many [illegible] years of personal and [illegible] memory. As a very young child Shitao was spirited away by a servant [illegible] escape the dangers of factional struggle and [illegible] the Manchu conquest of China. He began a wandering [illegible]

Buddhist monk and artist that [illegible] him even [illegible] through music [illegible] important [illegible] and commentary [illegible] the same Anhui [illegible] Dengqing and Yang [illegible]. As a result he [illegible] at the ancient Buddhist center of Mount Lu, [illegible] studying religion with a politically astute Buddhist abbot. Shitao's landscape painting of Mount Lu painted [illegible] in his [illegible] part a message evocative of his [illegible] The figure in the painting who gazes on the rolling clouds at the base of the [illegible] is no doubt a surrogate of Shitao engaged in acts of reminiscence as in many of his paintings. The artist's style and [illegible] focus instead on the cultural memory of the Northern Song monumental landscape painter Guo Xi. The grand [illegible] towering cliffs and effects of a mantic transformation of the Mount Lu [illegible] evoke [illegible] Guo Xi's art (see Fig. 7.2 above) [illegible] raises the occasion to question the authenticity of attributed Guo Xi paintings that he had seen [illegible] that his own work comes closer than those [illegible] being a genuine Guo Xi. This kind of challenge [illegible] and the desire to return to early origins and beginnings [illegible] anew is central to Shitao's art and painting theory. The energy of his painting comes from a fresh colorism and [illegible] subjects and for its [illegible] convey [illegible] and freshness. In political terms [illegible] starting over and a return to [illegible] seems to bring more than artistic [illegible] perhaps even a hope for restoration of the Ming regime. Shitao's focus on landscapes charged with Buddhist and [illegible] associations suggests such an agenda. His advocacy of no-method likewise conveys a resistance against [illegible]—which can be [illegible] variously

as mirrors, "concentric circles"—and would be

9.16 Shuang

[illegible]

[illegible] relatives with the Kangxi emperor in mind. In [illegible] and the [illegible] career is a professional artist [illegible] the discipline [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

COMMERCIAL AND DOMESTIC ARTS

The career of an artist such as Shuang, who despite aristocratic roots and a complex personal ancestry was poor and clearly was taught up in the professional culture of art in the major urban centers of southeast China, illustrates the strength of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the Ming to double-digit periods. This impetus was concentrated in the cities and commercial regions of the southeast along the Yangzi River. Suzhou's importance as a center of silk weaving and dainty crafts production, Nanjing's urban prosperity and Hangzhou's status as the center of porcelain production were a tradition re-established by the late Ming. Other centers of art production and patronage, like Yangzhou and the water towns of Jiaxing and Jiangsu, near modern Shanghai, became important in the late Ming, and Yangzhou's resemergence as a cultural center came as early as the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The growth of an art market, patronage and art production characteristically accompanied increasing prosperity. [illegible] the sources of that prosperity also [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]ics. Production, production and textile design and weaving were large-scale industries of great economic importance, regionally [illegible] [illegible] international [illegible] publishing, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] metalworking, and production of other luxury craft objects as well as [illegible] such as paper

9–7 Cheng Dayue, ed.
[illegible] *Shi Pu* [illegible]
[illegible] *Catalogue of Ink Designs for Making*

Tong, Jiang, woodblock print, [illegible] cm. American [illegible] Collection

and ink were substan[illegible] regional enterprises. While particular places became renowned for special local products and skills, the phenomenon of the [illegible] regional [illegible] based on the [illegible] of goods [illegible] information and [illegible] people such as travelling [illegible] [illegible] commercialization of art. This period had several aspects. The first was the emergence of large scale art and craft industries with broad economic impact that were based on the [illegible] various technical and design skills. Another [illegible] was the emergence of a wealthy merchant group and the dissemination [illegible] standards and tastes, though art patronage

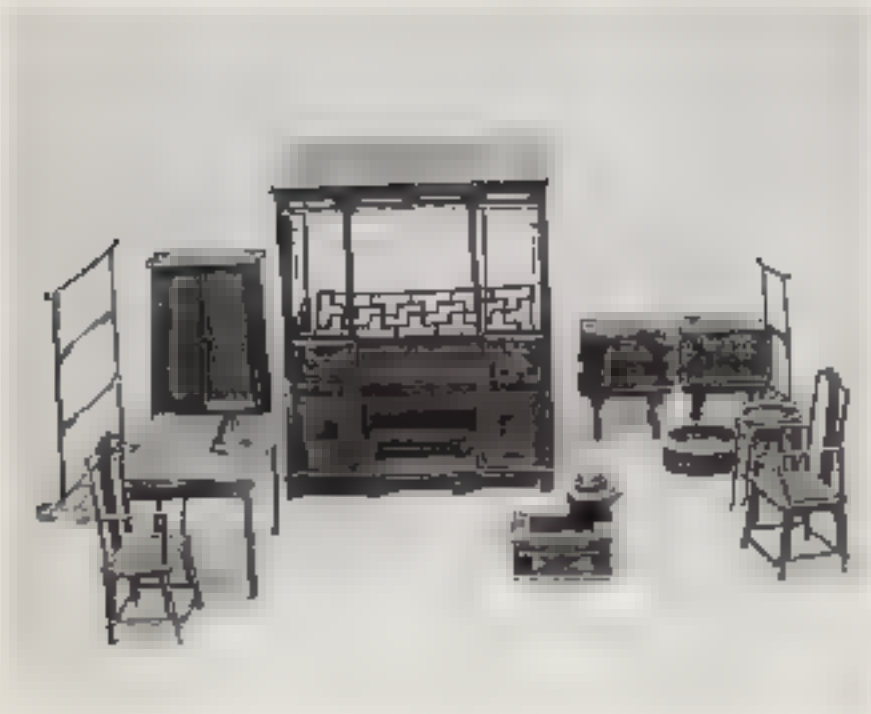
A third phenomenon was the spread of wealth more generally, giving rise to broader markets for arts and crafts and a need for published guides to taste and consumption, which were themselves available for purchase. Finally, elite arts such as literati painting and calligraphy became increasingly engaged in the marketplace and commodified.

The region of southern Anhui was one of the newly emergent centers of commerce and culture in the Ming period. Many merchants operated from this region and later moved to cities such as Yangzhou to become merchants who were able to accumulate huge fortunes. Local forest products, tea and salt were the foundation of the prosperity. A subset of these domestic forest products were the raw materials for high-quality ink paper, ink cakes made from compressed pine soot, inkstones for grinding the ornamental inks for the scholar's desk, and brushes. Thus even in its commercial products southern Anhui had links with high culture. This was complemented by a flourishing publishing industry and a notable school of woodcut engraving. Most scholars have emphasized the relative low status of this as a serious scientific and trade development and the growth of a local school of painting.

An example of the intermingling of commerce and art is *Ink Designs and the Wide Circle*, a collection of elements was *Mr Cheng's Catalogue of Pictorial Designs for Auspicious Cakes*, edited by an Anhui ink merchant at the beginning of the seventeenth century. It served some of the functions of an early sample or sales catalogue, and at the same time was a manual of popular designs across a wide range of subject matter. In addition, the editor of the catalogue drew on the local talent of the painter Ding Yuanpeng (1547–c. 1621) as picture designer and Huang [illegible] as block cutter. Ding was a noted painter of Buddhist subjects and landscapes, while Huang was part of a family studio famous for woodcut engraving from the late sixteenth century and for two centuries [illegible] (see fig. 9–8 above). There were also at least three recognizable brand names involved with the catalogue that [illegible] both to the catalogue as a work of the printing and to the ink cakes as luxury objects. The ink-cake designs were often filled in with colors, sometimes combined in single-block color prints in the catalogue. Most of the designs were of auspicious themes such as plants, phoenixes, or rebuses of good wishes, but there [illegible] along the appropriate prints brought to China by the Italian Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci (1552–1610). The prints of Chinese and Western [illegible] following an engraving by the Flemish printmaker Antoni Wierix after a design by the painter Martin de Vos, combines the crisp outlines characteristic of Anhui engravers with the European elements of foreshortening, poses, strong gestures and deep expressions that were appropriated elsewhere in Chinese religious and landscape paintings. The circulation of prints and images in late Ming China was extended even to material culture, as well.

Another important mode of [illegible] in Ming–Qing China involved the movement of people. Woodcut engravers originally from the Anhui school were also active in other urban centers, including such as Nanjing, Suzhou, Hangzhou, and Yangzhou. Merchants from Anhui and elsewhere also traveled widely in pursuit of business opportunities. Merchants, officials

Hazardous Paper



[illegible] Models of [illegible] furniture

[illegible] armchair [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Leisure, Pleasure, and Material Culture

The arts and pleasures of living became important themes in seventeenth- and [illegible] taste and consumption were the subjects of connoisseurs' guides and handbooks [illegible] but in this period [illegible] to notable inventions and devices that made daily life [illegible] able. A parallel situation can be found in eighteenth-century Europe and North America, where descent aimed at domestic comfort and efficiency occupied the energies of [illegible] son. The prosperity of late Ming and early to middle Qing China created opportunities [illegible] nce but also for thoughtful efforts at improving [illegible] of everyday life.

The authors quoted below were literate educated gentlemen but not immune to the perils of rapid economic change. Yu [illegible] 681) was a playwright and bookseller, the publisher of the *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Calligraphy and Painting* [illegible] His essays in *A Temporary Lodge for My Leisure Thoughts* are full of domestic details concerning interior design, clothing, food, adornment of women, and inventions aimed at increasing the comforts and pleasures of daily life. T[illegible] included a heated armchair for winter and a porcelain cooling bench for summer. He also developed the "landscape window," a framed view of scenery that changed with the days and seasons like a living painting, and the "fan-shaped window" that provided pleasure-boat travelers with a changing panorama within the format of a fan painting. Shen Fu, [illegible] 7E.) after 1806) was [illegible] he pleasures of leisure and [illegible] The autobiography is notable for [illegible] prominent role Shen Fu's wife, Chen Y[illegible] Fu records.

[illegible] Yu on domestic architecture

[illegible] feet high, with beams several feet across. [illegible] such a house is suitable for summer [illegible]

Shen Fu on flower arranging and appreciation

Every year chrysanthemums [illegible] autumn, gardeners pick them and put them in vases rather than raise them in pots. See fig. 9.7 above. [illegible] old seven and odd number of flowers, not an even number. Each vase should contain flowers of only a single [illegible] be wide so that the flowers can spread [illegible] Some of the flowers should stand up gracefully, while others spread out at angles. Some should [illegible] high and some low, with a few each in between to keep the arrangement from looking stiff and unnatural. But more than seven vase should be set on one [illegible]

[illegible] Six Records of a Floating Life, pp. 56–5[illegible]

Shen Fu on garden design

[illegible] stone and flower plantings try to give [illegible] Some things should be hidden and some [illegible] or everything can suddenly take [illegible] with the local kitchen. Hawaiian Hus[illegible] from Yuan. As they studied the summer [illegible] showed me how to make movable [illegible] screens were about six or seven feet [illegible] them. They can be put anywhere you like. Hung the windows with green shade and blocking the sun while letting a breeze through. If you make several they can be set out in winding patterns that can be rearranged as you like. This they are called movable flower [illegible]

[illegible] Records of a Floating Life, p. 63

[illegible] these summarize [illegible] the technical basis and organization of production of the porcelain kilns.

> The material of porcelain is composed of two kinds of earth, one called pe-tun-tse, the other kao-lin. The latter is sown with corpuscles which are somewhat glistening; the former is simply white and very fine to the touch. [illegible] It is kao-lin that gives firmness to the fine porcelain, [illegible] strength [illegible]. It is only a combination with the soft earth that gives strength [illegible]. A rich merchant told me that some years ago the English or Dutch had purchased for them some petuntse, which they took to their country to make porcelain with, but not having taken kaolin, their enterprise failed, as they confessed afterwards. [illegible] the workshops [illegible] surrounded by walls, in which the vases ranged [illegible] above store a great quantity of porcelain. Inside these walls live and work an infinite number of workmen, each of whom has his allotted task. A piece of porcelain, before it leaves [illegible] to be carried to the furnace, passes through the hands of more than twenty persons. [illegible] The cup when it leaves the wheel is very imperfect in shape, like the top of a hat before it has been put on the shaping block. [illegible] The cup as it comes from the wheel is first handed to a second workman, who is seated [illegible] it passes by him to a third, who presses it on a mould and gives it its shape. This mould is fixed upon a kind of wheel. A fourth workman polishes the cup with a knife, especially round the rims, and makes it thin enough to be transparent; [illegible] it must be [illegible] or it will break. It is surprising to see the rapidity with which the vases pass through so many different hands, and I am told that a vase that has been fired has gone through the hands of seventy workmen.
>
> From the letters of Père d'Entrecolles; Bushell, *Oriental Ceramic Art*, pp. [illegible]–58

Père d'Entrecolles also documents contemporary Chinese interest in antiquities and methods of forgery, as well as European prejudices against Chinese painting methods. His investigations paralleled the slightly later research of Tang Ying, appointed supervisor of the imperial kilns [illegible]. Tang Ying spent three years [illegible] detailed study of the techniques of [illegible], working among the potters and eventually making [illegible]. He was commissioned [illegible] the Qianlong emperor [illegible] illustrations [illegible] the twenty major processes involved in porcelain production.

Urban Professional Painters

The cities of Suzhou and Nanjing already had [illegible] groups of professional painters in the middle Ming period around 1500. These continued as centers of professional painting in the late Ming and early Qing and were joined by the nearby city of Yangzhou in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As in earlier periods, a number of late Ming and Qing professional painters had some literary education, though many were more narrowly trained artisans. While in the middle Ming professional painters worked largely in technically accomplished styles [illegible] audiences, late Ming and Qing professional painting accommodated a wide range of styles, from decorative high technique to casual literati efforts. This suggests that an aura of scholarly taste had become a salable commodity and that educated gentlemen were pushed by economic circumstances or their own ambitions into the marketplace.

A glimpse into the working methods of a Suzhou-based professional painter is offered by the career of Gu Jianlong (1606–1684). Known particularly for his portraits and figure paintings, he also worked as a court painter in Beijing during the late seventeenth century. Such links between the imperial palace ateliers and urban studios were not uncommon, as artists recruited to the court retired or returned to hometowns and urban centers in the south. Gu may have been the artist responsible for the unsigned album discussed above (pages 328–329) [illegible] scenes from *The* [illegible] was painted for the Qing court, which combines refined erotic [illegible] with meticulous description of material objects and settings (see fig. 9.[illegible]). His *Album of Assorted Copy*

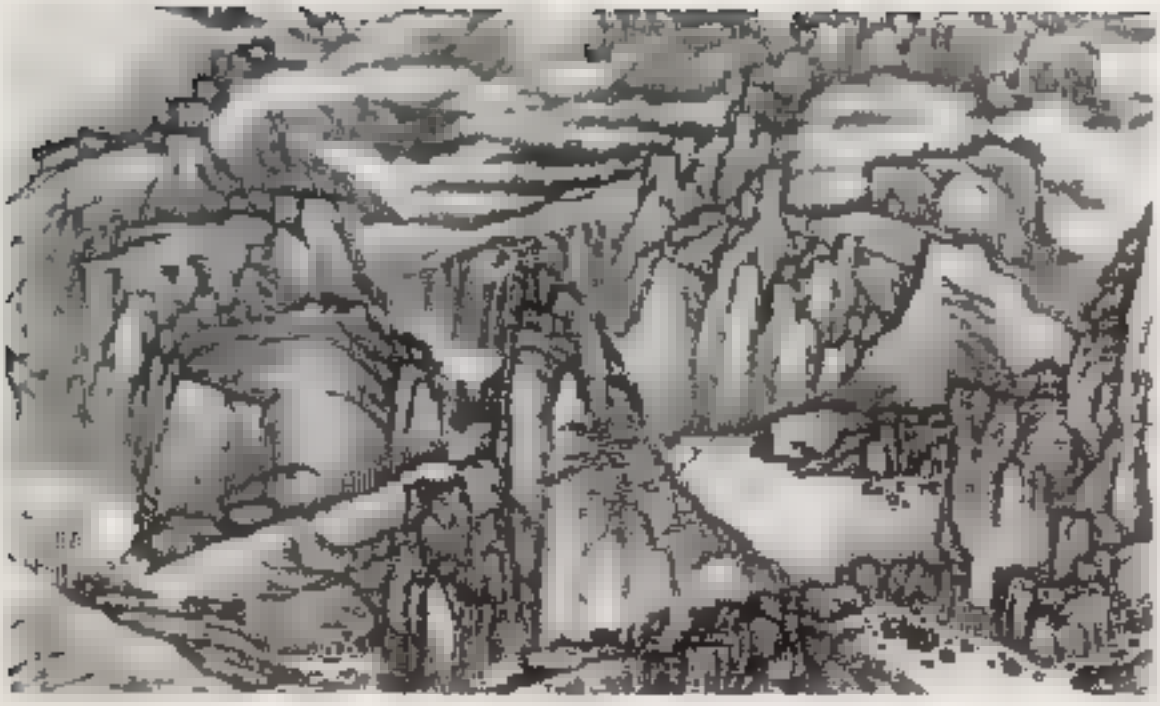
9-27 [illegible] [illegible] Sketches after Old [illegible] [illegible]

painters Yan Liben and

Sketches after Old Masters is a rare surviving example of a *fenben*, or artist's copy-book, a ready source for motifs and styles that most probably was standard equipment of professional artists and perhaps of literati painters as well. The forty-six surviving leaves are a notebook of landscape and figure elements, including building types and costume details, probably drawn directly from originals, and often including notations identifying the stylistic source. Its favored models in this compendium were Southern Song court artists, which confirms the orientation of Ming professionals. The page with bust-length and seated female and male figures includes abundant notations identifying the source styles as court and professional paintings [illegible] brushes and shows how a finished painting might be composed directly from preexisting elements (fig. 9-27).

This copy-book or catalogue approach to composition is thoroughly embodied in the *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Calligraphy and Painting* (see above, fig. 9-5) and other similar woodblock-printed compendia, which made some versions of artists' jealously guarded sketch books broadly available to interested buyers. Similar sketch books have been attributed to the painter Gong Xian (c. 1617–1689), a contemporary of the *Mustard Seed Garden Manual* editor Wang Gai in the Nanjing region, though Gong's comments on the sketches [illegible] belonging to the genre of studio secrets. Gong Xian held strong loyalist sentiments for the fallen Ming dynasty, expressed in poetic inscriptions on his landscapes and in the [illegible] isolation of his scenery with empty cottages and darkly textured blocky rocks and trees conveying a mood of desolation and mourning. Gong Xian may seem an unlikely professional painter because there is not much range and variety in his work and very little display of technical skill. To some degree Gong's harsh evocations of loyalism may have been his professional stock in trade to meet audiences with similar sentiments whose resistance to the established Manchu regime was limited to the indirect symbolic spheres of culture. Other loyalist artists of the late seventeenth century such as Bada Shanren and Shitao (see figs. 9-15, 9-16) likewise operated at times as professional loyalists, producing nostalgic or symbolic themes in substantial numbers. Gong Xian's work shows that even a deliberately limited, systematic approach can yield results of great expressive power and complexity. His *Thousand Peaks and Myriad Ravines* (fig. 9-28) is both oppressive and monumental. Its crowded design, exotic features such as the strong dark-light contrasts, sweeping diagonal recessions, and stippled forms and cloud forms suggest the impact of European landscape engravings in the mannerist style brought to Nanjing by Jesuit missionaries but here thoroughly transposed into a Chinese idiom.

At the other end of the stylistic and thematic spectrum were professional painters such as Yuan Jiang, active in Yangzhou around the time of Gong Xian's old age and on into the early eighteenth century. Yuan Jiang was a dynamic and masterful craftsman with special [illegible] in elaborate architectural and landscape fantasies in the manner of Song monumental landscapes, with deep pictorial spaces and illusionistic features. His paintings seem to have been aimed at wealthy merchants or those with pretensions to wealth

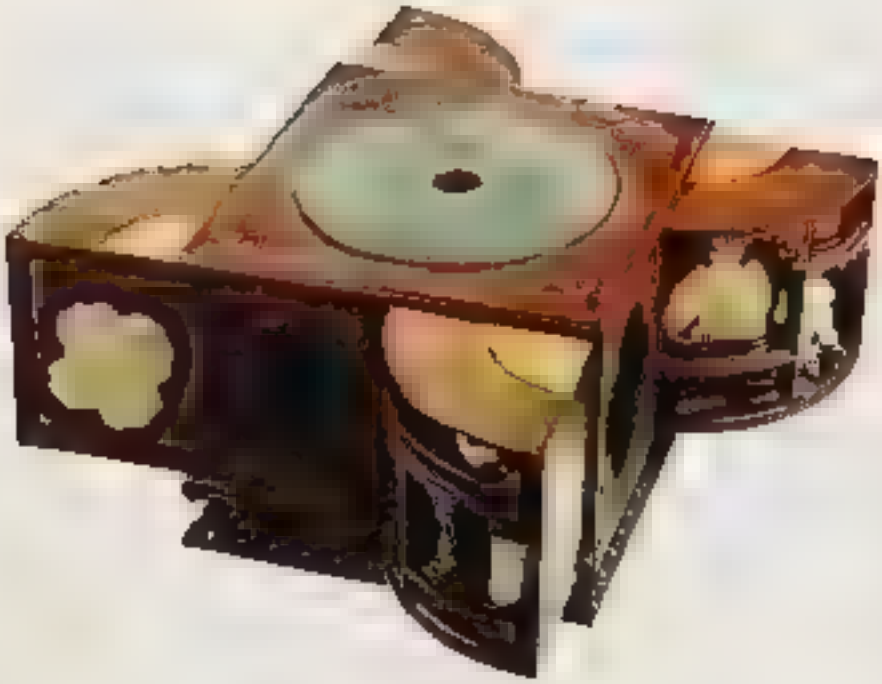


[illegible]

[illegible]

Shi Zhong Xu
[illegible]
Bamboo and Rocks

COURT ARTS



A. Sequoia [illegible] Ms. [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] and customs. As a multiethnic empire the Qing was [illegible] concerned with potential troubles [illegible] relations of Mongols, Muslims, Asians and Tibetans. The Manchu regime emphasized [illegible] The great country which it inherited not only provided [illegible]

[illegible] ideology. Manchu authority and [illegible] monumental handiwork [illegible]

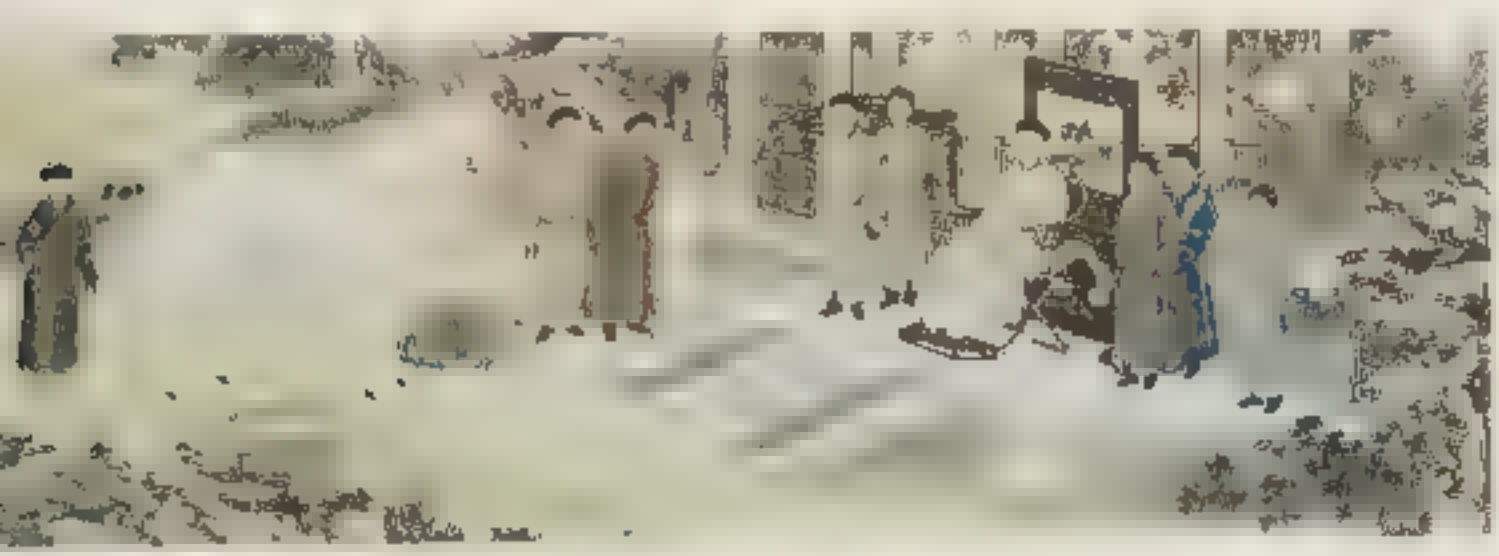
Kangxi emperor between 1684 and 1707 [illegible] Qianlong emperor between 1751 and 1784. The tours were designed to assert the central authority of the southern regions, especially in the south-eastern Yangzi River valley, which had been centres of resistance by the Ming loyalists. The tours also had subtle and [illegible] conditions in the regions that were the economic engines of Qing prosperity. Tours included ceremonial [illegible] the large imperial retinue, sometimes lavish expenditure and construction in the form of local houses, provided the requisite hospitality and inspection of the [illegible] and public works projects such as flood control dams. The tours were great visual spectacles and material projections of imperial power and [illegible]

Another kind of work, though less grandiose, pictorial embodiment of Qing authority is the handscroll depicting the grandeur [illegible]

[illegible] and shadow. The contribution of the Italian Jesuit Giuseppe Castiglione (Lang Shining, 1688–1768) [illegible] Qianlong emperor [illegible] and Lamaist Buddhist practices was [illegible] Dalai and [illegible] tribute gifts and were rewarded with religious [illegible] from the [illegible]

Even the few examples [illegible] here [illegible] the emphasis on a great

Giuseppe Castiglione (Lang Shining, 1688–1768), Qianlong emperor receiving a dark-faced [illegible] from the Kazakhs



[illegible] Qing [illegible] Forbidden City Architecture [illegible] summer palaces near Beijing and at Shenyang. [illegible] style [illegible] complexes at Chengde [illegible] and buildings and tombs around Beijing and imperial [illegible] complexes were part of the imperial world. The southern inspection [illegible] projects [illegible] into the south [illegible] the country and patronage of Lamaist Buddhism changed [illegible] Mongolia [illegible] extended massively [illegible] the internal [illegible] in Qingdao [illegible] the southeastern province of [illegible] collecting [illegible] China and encompassed objects from Japan and Europe among other foreign places. [illegible] and movement [illegible] items in and from the court [illegible] China and to neighboring regimes. Court [illegible] involved [illegible] international networks of production, acquisition, and consumption.

Palace Architecture

The unquestioned center of the Qing imperial works was the Purple Forbidden City, so designated because of the identification of the emperor with the numinous purple [illegible] of the Pole Star. While we have emphasized the political [illegible] the emperor has [illegible] the priest [illegible] functions were equally important [illegible] and [illegible] of the native products. As the Son of Heaven, the emperor maintained cosmic order by performing annual rituals such as [illegible] the Altars of Heaven and Earth, the Temple of Imperial Ancestors, and the Altar of Soil and Grain. The Forbidden City was [illegible] building [illegible] and encompassed the [illegible] complexes with the palace buildings along south on a plan of great antiquity, reaching back to texts associated with the Zhou dynasty. A particularly [illegible] was the [illegible] directional axes which governed flow through the palace and out from [illegible] world, the walls and enclosures that separated and compartmentalized the Forbidden City from the empire at large and [illegible] within the palace.

The [illegible] plan of Qing-dynasty Beijing was a series of nested walled enclosures, with the central Forbidden City surrounded by a walled imperial City of government buildings and temples and [illegible] and to the south the walled commercial [illegible] City. The series of enclosures visible on Xu Yangs *Bird's-Eye View of the Capital* [illegible] situation of the emperor [illegible] treasure boxes

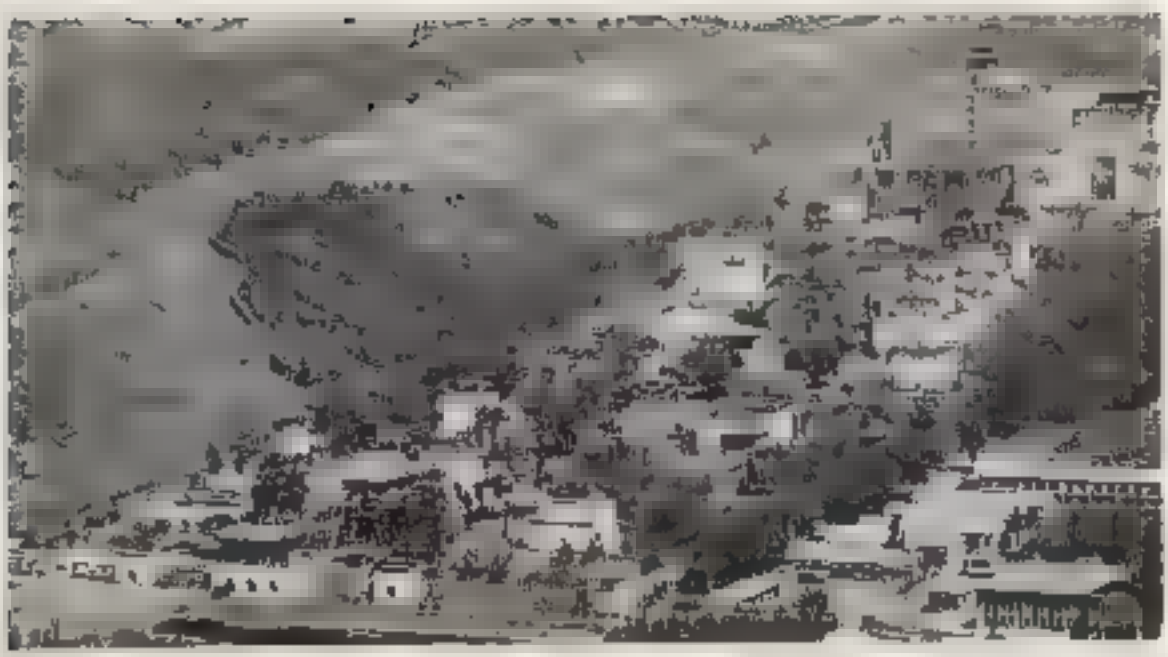
9.34 Hall of Supreme Harmony
Forbidden City, Beijing, 1627 and later

century rules but it was here for the Kangxi emperor were the subject of illustrative copperplate engravings made by the Jesuit priests. Many of these were Chinese court paintings of the subject that circulated in Europe by 1724 (p. 9-37). The irregularity, asymmetry and winding pathways of [illegible] fashionable [illegible] the so-called Anglo-Chinese style of garden design in mid-18th-century England.

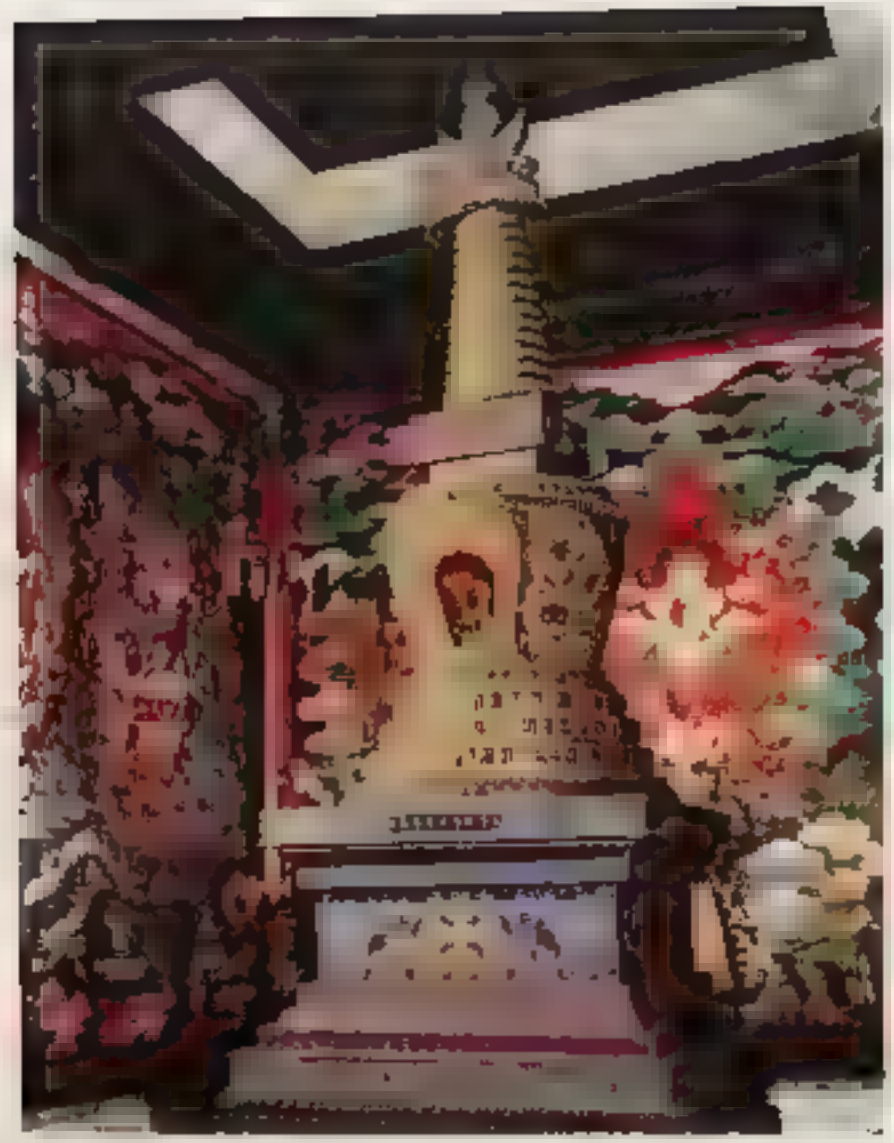
Buddhist Areas at Court

The Qing emperors were active patrons of Tibetan [illegible] a personal devotion of the emperors but every imperial action carried political, ritual, social and symbolic significance as well. The [illegible] Buddhism [illegible] maintaining peaceful relations with the Tibetan [illegible] and regions where lamaist religious [illegible] sent envoys and overseas over Chinese [illegible] early Qing period and many conflicts with Tibetan peoples date back to the Tang era [illegible] account of Tibetan [illegible] itself be a politically charged choice [illegible] will [illegible] Buddhism [illegible] traditionally Chinese regions. The most important complex of Lamaist temple buildings in China is adjacent to the imperial Summer Resort at Chengde. Many of these were [illegible] Tibetan temples but [illegible] to commemorate visits of imperial [illegible] Mongolian or Tibetan lamas, and suggest a [illegible] Tibetan religion into Chinese imperial culture. The most extraordinary was a replica of the Potala Palace in Lhasa, the center of Lamaist Buddhism [illegible] period built at Chengde between 1 [illegible] Here too was a mixture of religious and political motives as the complex was built to celebrate an assembly of dignitaries and [illegible]

9.36 Anon. Shakyamuni [illegible]



9.38 Potanchongcheng, replica of the Potala Palace, Lhasa, c. 1693–96



art-sponsored trains

NTERNATIO

[illegible] chapter in a long history of interpretations and misunderstandings in Chinese culture. Almost [illegible] as we can [illegible] Chinese poetry we can [illegible] elements of [illegible] and [illegible] consequence. Jades, bronzes, [illegible] Asia, bisque figures and [illegible] vessels [illegible] designs from the Near East [illegible] Asian, Near East [illegible] the art, music, dance and costume jewels [illegible] Asian [illegible] Items were most [illegible] of the [illegible] Asians [illegible] although there were [illegible] relations [illegible] general [illegible] was of such [illegible] and historical duration [illegible] singe our East-West [illegible] 1500 [illegible] modern [illegible] bias.

Nonetheless, [illegible] interesting reasons for [illegible] European [illegible] history [illegible] East-West [illegible] 550 [illegible] goods from China [illegible] European spheres [illegible] merchants. The very existence of a meaningful [illegible] and colonization of the New World and the opening of [illegible] Asia [illegible] European desires [illegible] Asian spices [illegible] potential [illegible] By [illegible] Asia, Europe [illegible] the Americas were partly parts of [illegible] economies [illegible] movements of goods and money around the globe. Furthermore, [illegible] charged with the formation of public stock companies such as the British and Dutch East India Companies, which also [illegible] stock shares and [illegible] dividends. The establishment of corporate enterprises [illegible] also globally marked a new system of economic activity that is still with us today. Finally, [illegible] large-scale East-West trade exchanged [illegible] the intellectual and political sphere. The prestige of Chinese goods and the prosperity of China lent authority to Chinese models of political and social organization which held great interest for European political thinkers. The seventeenth century also saw the first efforts at translation between Chinese and European languages and the beginnings of systematic sinological studies.

[illegible] we should [illegible] "Chinese" and "European" [illegible] styles, [illegible] The [illegible] to some sense [illegible] complex [illegible] of exchange [illegible] processes [illegible] adaptation [illegible] Even [illegible] are quickly [illegible] resulting [illegible] systems. For example, [illegible] European artists [illegible] Chinese [illegible] Chinese [illegible] fundamentally [illegible] Tibetan [illegible] Asian specialists who might be recruited [illegible] talents and [illegible] And which we can [illegible] East [illegible] certain [illegible] we should recognize that their appearance in Chinese products was a matter of deliberate choice [illegible] a passive process [illegible] Chinese [illegible] European markets [illegible] be considered [illegible] European [illegible] through signs [illegible] in design or manufacture were part of their appeal [illegible] cases [illegible] hints of interior [illegible] as vehicles [illegible] European [illegible] Chinese [illegible] European taste by [illegible] Japanese wares. [illegible] European [illegible] be [illegible] could be [illegible] translations [illegible] of Chinese goods [illegible] changing not only the [illegible] and effect [illegible] but [illegible] finally [illegible] labeling such a [illegible] object as either Chinese or European is probably more misleading than helpful.

Export Ceramics

Ceramics constituted one of the largest [illegible] export from China to Europe. They had an especially major impact on the visual [illegible] of Europe. Because they were domestic items, [illegible] most often decorated with pictorial designs that [illegible] ceramics or transferred to other media. The European fascination

9.42 Dish, 'Kraak' ware

with porcelain, in particular, and the quest to unlock the secrets of its production, forms an important chapter in the cultural and economic history of Europe. The export trade was dominated by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century and later in much larger volumes by the Dutch East India Company after 1602 and by the British East India Company after 1730. Already by 1638 the Dutch had shipped some three million pieces of Chinese porcelain to Europe, and the British conveyed several hundred thousand pieces a year in the mid-eighteenth century. The majority of these were mass produced items decorated just like those exported to other regions of Asia with standard patterns. As early as 1615 the directors of the Dutch East India Company were ordering specific items and quantities, including shapes of European origin such as beer mugs and butter dishes that were suited to the local market and customs. Drawings and models were sent from Europe to guide production, and European designs of coats of arms, Christian scenes, and the like were also made to order in China.

The letters of Peter Ennetzes, introduced above (see pages 342–343), discuss the economic risks of industrial-scale enterprise and production for foreign markets.

[illegible] surprising that proved to be successful in Europe for upsetting the large gums of the European [illegible] that [illegible] and [illegible] Chinese [illegible] are [illegible] attempt to succeed completely. Everything is lost, and an opening in the porcelain and the cases were [illegible] converted [illegible] sells more as hot as a brick. Moreover, the porcelain that is exported to Europe is fashioned almost [illegible] of brass [illegible] water and difficult to reproduce. [illegible] they are [illegible] in the hands of the potters because they are not in the taste of the Chinese and cannot be sold to them [illegible] elaborate designs are quite impractical, although they produce for themselves some things which astonish strangers, which [illegible] not [illegible] in their possibility. The mandarins who know the genius of the Europeans for inventions [illegible] have brought from Europe novel and curious designs in order that he may present to the emperor something [illegible]

[illegible] *Original Correspondence*, pp. 352–355.

The most popular export wares of the early period of European trade from about 1575 to 1650 were those known as 'kraak' ware, a dutch term probably derived from the Portuguese carracks, or cargo ships, that first transported the wares. A common style [illegible] underglaze blue dish, fig. 9.42, with a central, roundel pictorial scene surrounded by radiating panels with floral designs and figures. Sometimes Chinese scenes are combined with European elements, such as the panels with [illegible]

After the fall of the Ming in 1644 there was some interruption in foreign trade and in the administration of the kilns at Jingdezhen. There was a stockpiling of European demand, which was met in part by hoarding stockpiles in China and Taiwan and by shipping wares from Japanese kilns. So-called 'Transitional' wares, produced in the period from about 1620 until 1683 when Chinese kilns were reestablished at Jingdezhen, continued to be exported.

Along with export ceramics carrying Chinese blue and white designs, there was a large production of earthenware vessels with pewter and metal bases decorated with European motifs

[illegible] such as that published by Stunde and Parmentier in 1688 were adaptations of Chinese subjects were [illegible] as well, including in the lacquer screens that were sometimes cut up and used as inlaid decorative panels on European cabinets. Furnishings were among the chief vehicles of chinoiserie, but is a complex of objects and art forms produced in Europe that together constituted an imaginary China.

European Arts and Artists at the Qing Court

We have already discussed some Qing court paintings and enamel ware vessels that show European decorative or representational techniques or were executed, in whole or in part by European artists working at the Chinese court (see [illegible] 2.9-33 and [illegible] 4.33). These artifacts were most [illegible] in scholarly circles. Yet such collections gave rise to an entree into the court and opportunities for interactions with high officials and even the emperor. That access, if [illegible] would provide a shortcut to the goal of winning Catholic converts among the Chinese elite and a [illegible] the populace at large, or practice. Missionary artists were often put to work at ordinary labors such as in the enamelers' workshops. They had relatively little over impact on their elite Chinese audiences, who found such [illegible] Europe pictorial styles powerfully alienating. Yet backing in unusury as the Chinese deemed it, European artists were also encouraged to use Chinese media and to modify their styles into a hybrid manner that provided a smoother integration with work done by the Chinese collaborators. In [illegible] sense, then, the European missionary artists were to some degree converted by the Chinese pupils.

Missionaries brought a variety of [illegible] talents and skills to their service at court. Aside from painters, there were also [illegible] architects and garden designers, enamelers, [illegible] clockmakers, glass carvers, and [illegible] makers. Most of their specialties involved particular kinds of knowledge or technical expertise valued by their imperial patrons and applicable outside the palace as well. Mathematics, astronomy, and time-measurement skills were highly valued. The Qing emperors, as enthusiastic collectors of clocks, prized the mechanical [illegible] of clockwork makers and other designers. The perspective [illegible] techniques [illegible] in color paintings were just a concrete application of broader mathematical knowledge. Father Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–1688), a Flemish Jesuit mathematician and astronomer who served at the imperial observatory in Beijing during his years in China from 1659 to 1688, probably taught mathematical perspective techniques to a younger Chinese colleague at the observatory named Jian Bangxian (fl. c. 1684–1726), who later became a prominent court artist.

Among the European artists at the Kangxi emperor's court was the Italian Jesuit priest Matteo Ripa (1682–1745), who served at court from 1710 to 1723. He introduced the technique of copperplate engraving into China, but his most important impact may have been in Europe. His engravings that accompanied the imperial summer retreat at Chengde (which were circulating in Europe by c. 1724; see fig. 9.37) showed and provided visual information about a kind of garden design based on effects of natural landscape and avoiding overt reliance on geometrical designs and arrangements of trees and plants of the contemporary European garden. The seeming naturalness and informality of the Chinese imperial gardens were in fact highly deliberate, even artificial, effects achieved with great expense [illegible]. Such information was [illegible] enough to be [illegible] on European thinking about gardens. Chinese-style gardens came to stand in Europe for values of naturalness and freedom from constraint, which took on political significance in social debates between English and pre-Revolutionary French thinkers, and within English political discourse. The history of the so-called Anglo-Chinese garden, a name first used by French writers who did not want the English to get sole credit for the development, thus belongs to the history of European culture and taste. The basis in direct knowledge of Chinese gardens. None before Ripa's engravings, along with written accounts of Chinese gardens and other prints illustrating Chinese architecture, provided some guidance for English estate gardens that squeezed human artifacts eliminated

illustrations. A pair of [illegible] vase images rendered in the drawings preserve [illegible] the iconography of the originals and some architectural renderings offer [illegible] [illegible] these hangings. However, most of the illustrations have a distinctly European quality in costume and [illegible] and many [illegible] imaginative [illegible] [illegible] accounts. Kircher's engraved *Portrait of Father Matteo Ricci* and *Portrait of the Chinese Convert* [illegible] conveys some of the [illegible] [illegible] European–Chinese relations (fig. 9–45). The two figures are alike in dignified demeanor and [illegible] broad smile [illegible]. Part of the success of the results in China was due to their [illegible] and [illegible] of manner, which put them on the same plane as Chinese scholar-officials [illegible] the high esteem in which things Chinese were held in Europe was due in part to the projection of wisdom and [illegible] by Chinese statesmen. The wall plaques include a framed painting of the Virgin and Child [illegible] ancient [illegible] and two transliteration sets of Chinese characters and [illegible] Romanizations. Translations of [illegible] texts into Chinese and of Chinese historical and moral texts into Latin was one of the chief projects of the missionaries. The Virgin and Child image on the wall recalls of these accounts of religious paintings brought by Ricci, which impressed Chinese viewers with their [illegible] solidity and modeling of facial features with highlights and shadows.

Other influential early textual sources in China were those by Dutch writer Johan Nieuhoff's 1673 *An Embassy to the Emperor of China*, which included engravings of Chinese cities and pagodas based on Nieuhoff's visits around 1655. For eighteenth-century Europeans, the most important source was Father J. B. du Halde's encyclopedic *Description of the Empire of China* of 1735, based on his compilation of letters and reports from Jesuit missionaries there. The compendium treated geography, history, politics, and physical description and included translated excerpts from classical philosophical texts and some poetry, fiction, and drama. Literary excerpts offered Europeans another source of views of China, and writers as important as Voltaire and Goethe rendered their own conceptions in versions of a play [illegible] [illegible] Yuan period [illegible] called The Orphan of the House of Zhao. Finally, writers and philosophers such as Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716), Montesquieu (1689–1755), Voltaire (1694–1778), and Christian Christian von Wolff (1679–1754) offered their own [illegible] and [illegible] of political philosophy and statecraft. For most of the period from the late seventeenth to the late eighteenth century, Europe's enlightenment thinkers held China in very high regard. It was seen as a model for Europe in this period in the arenas of [illegible] and practices. China was portrayed by many as a philosopher's state ruled by scholars chosen on the basis of merit rather than birth, with the [illegible] religious tolerance, maintaining public order, and an agricultural [illegible] based prosperity [illegible] under the aegis of an enlightened despotism [illegible].

There was much [illegible] and projection of European [illegible] such [illegible] which were [illegible] by some contemporary European writers [illegible] Tartary [illegible]. There was also some basis in [illegible] such accounts [illegible] and fantasy [illegible] characteristic of most European images of China, [illegible] philosophical writing, fiction, [illegible] pictorial illustrations. Even [illegible] Chinese culture [illegible] objects were [illegible] hybrid [illegible] made in China [illegible] European [illegible] with fantasy chinoiserie products. Images of China that are amalgams of [illegible] and [illegible] reports with [illegible] and projected [illegible] are of course still very much with us today.

Chinoiserie, as the European style that mixed exotic [illegible] East and South Asian motifs and [illegible] came to be known, is often discussed as derivative or trivial and, most of all, inauthentic. [illegible] investment of resources and interest in such styles. For more than a century, chinoiserie consisted of a high-tech, movement within ceramic and textile production, lacquer ware, furniture, [illegible] and garden design

metalwork, lacquerware, and porcelain. Because Chinese furnishings belonged to a world [illegible] Europeans [illegible] the [illegible] of this book. We should, however, note [illegible] major artists such as [illegible] Boucher and Giovanni Battista Tiepolo [illegible] as well as the popularity of [illegible] enriched new artistic vocabulary [illegible] Europe or China, but is the case with porcelain, [illegible] Europe from the late seventeenth [illegible] and were in most instances [illegible] European [illegible] and the assumption that the secrets of its production [illegible] the European imagination. Porcelain [illegible] obsession of European palaces [illegible] imitation Chinese ware, which [illegible] a number of cases artists incorporated copious [illegible] designs, as part of a reminder of the world [illegible] A notable example is the [illegible] Palace [illegible]

[illegible] with some 260 pieces [illegible] Tiepolo [illegible] between 1757 and 1762. [illegible] large dishes [illegible] the center [illegible] several [illegible] the previous winter [illegible] palace. Don Vasco [illegible] 1497 [illegible] 1524, who sponsored many [illegible] expeditions [illegible] to India and was intensely curious about [illegible] things Chinese, [illegible] were ordinarily considered luxury items [illegible] use in banquet service. The [illegible] display as [illegible] decorations creates an almost dizzying effect [illegible] massed [illegible] and [illegible] both to pride of possession and to the sense of a [illegible] particular in seventeenth-century Europe. The [illegible] arrangement [illegible] the room [illegible] something like a shrine dedicated [illegible] the veneration of porcelain and other things [illegible] these

IDENTITY AND COMMUNITY IN NINETEENTH- AND TWENTIETH CENTURY CHINESE ART

Yi Lu Dahong, b. 1962, Spring

The [illegible] century was a period of [illegible] in the most [illegible] in modern and [illegible] history. The most epochal [illegible] gestation in the political realm with the collapse of the imperial system and the founding of the Republic in [illegible] and the establishment in [illegible] of the People's Republic of China by the victorious Communist Party following civil war at home and World War II. Those transforming events were embedded within a social landscape of widespread rebellion and social dislocation reaching well back into the nineteenth century. Repeated encroachments, aggressions, and incursions by foreign powers, in which the opium war [illegible] 1839–1842 and two Sino-Japanese wars [illegible] 1894–1895, 1937–1945 were [illegible] the most significant, accompanied with equally devastating internal conflicts among them the Taiping Rebellion (1850–1864), the Chinese Civil War (1945–1949), and the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). Tens of millions of people died in these conflicts, and the social and economic dislocation and human suffering was [illegible].

Amidst all this turmoil, the cultural sphere was [illegible] anything, even more complex, driven by multiple pressures and conflicting forces. Art was politicized, and at times was turned into a tool for war and class struggle. Traditional local modes competed with foreign styles and media. Art movements and theories emerged with the same intensity as the political debates of which they formed a part. While the art world was [illegible] [illegible] pressures and threats of physical destruction, [illegible] social [illegible] the [illegible] of modernity, [illegible] twentieth-century artistic developments does not deny the profound cultural consequences of the [illegible] system and the establishment of a new subsidiary [illegible]. Reformist calls for [illegible] production of [illegible] and [illegible] culture and its [illegible] aesthetic traditions, Western scientific thought and institutions, including a [illegible] based on [illegible] speech and influenced by Western-style forms as well as Western-style painting and [illegible] [illegible] the new Republic. Promoters of the People's Republic of China (PRC) were at times still more radical in seeking the destruction of old [illegible] and in demanding an accurate political agenda from the arts. While [illegible] political and avant-garde movements [illegible] [illegible] this chapter emphasizes cultural structures and patterns [illegible] the last two centuries.

One of the most important of these ongoing themes involved the unequal power relationships between China and the West. As we have seen, [illegible] between China and [illegible] eighteenth and eighteenth centuries were by and large [illegible] and mutually respectful. This was in part because the two regions maintained a relatively [illegible] distance and ignorance of one another, and also because of a general balance of power and prestige. During [illegible] China was prosperous and

a great military and force which has its government [illegible] industries held in very high repute. At the same time Western European countries collectively were rising in wealth and military powers with increasingly impressive achievements in science and technology and were catching up with China, even in craft [illegible] porcelain manufacture. The German philosopher [illegible] (1646–1716) expressed a prevailing understanding [illegible] balance of power in his [illegible] "[illegible]" [illegible] In his summary, Europe excelled in [illegible] mathematics, [illegible] geometry, logic, and mechanics, while China excelled in principles of [illegible] and politics, the tranquillity of [illegible] and in the understanding of [illegible] and [illegible].

That equilibrium in political and economic power affected China's destiny, and China's development in the nineteenth century. A pivotal event in both historical and symbolic terms was the ariel mission leaded by Lord George Macartney [illegible] 1793 [illegible] the British East India Company [illegible] the court of the Qianlong emperor [illegible] greatest trade [illegible] diplomatic recognition. The mission arrived in a [illegible] warship and brought examples of current British manufacture as unmistakable signs of developing European military and industrial capabilities. The gifts, however, were [illegible] tribute from abroad, and the diplomatic and trade offerings had [illegible] might have integrated China into an emerging modern world, but were rejected. China, which had been the world's leader during the Sung–Yuan periods (with fourteen technologies in science and technology, including metallurgy, armaments, and other military technology, and which had a considerable international maritime presence) through the early nineteenth century, rapidly fell behind Europe in just those areas crucial to the projection of power: manufacturing technology, armaments, and the applied mathematics and technologies of mechanics and industrial arts. Most importantly, China lost ground in the economic infrastructures of prosperity and competitive advantage: industrial organization, machinery, and transportation. While China had pioneered the industrial scale of production and division of labor as far back as the lacquer handicrafts in the Han period (206 BCE–220 CE), [illegible] participated only [illegible] in the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century, primarily as a source of materials and cheap labor. As China's political and economic [illegible] so too did the reputation of its artisanal and craft products, replaced by surrogates from the Wedgwood kilns in England or the French [illegible] of [illegible].

The history of international [illegible] in China's nineteenth and twentieth centuries then became one dominated by exploitation and tragedy. The Opium Wars, ignited by the [illegible] (1840–1842), followed a quarter century of imports of opium into China by the British East India Company, which caused a [illegible] in deficit in the balance of trade and consequent recession in China. The Treaty of Nanking (1842), in which China ceded Hong Kong and was forced to open several port cities, [illegible] opium imports, was just the first chapter in an ongoing saga of colonial appropriations. French and British expeditionary forces sacked Beijing in 1860, when the Yuanmingyuan imperial resort was [illegible] (see [illegible] 9.44 above). The last half of the nineteenth century was filled with colonialist banqueting on the Chinese hoard, [illegible] and with concessions of extraterritorial rights and [illegible] economics from China to the European powers, Russia, and Japan. Impoverished and demoralized, the Qing imperial dynasty yielded to the Republic in 1912, but foreign intrusions continued unabated. Russia and Japan carved out spheres of influence in northeastern China and Outer Mongolia in the last years of the Qing empire, and Japan's invasion of Manchuria in 1931 began a period of occupation that lasted until the end of World War II in 1945.

The troubles that beset China were of course not entirely or even primarily due to foreign interference. Corruption and incompetence in the ruling elites, overpopulation, poor financial policies, extravagant expenditure, and over-extension of China's own empire contributed to widespread impoverishment. [illegible] The Taiping rebellions that began in 1850 in Guangxi and other [illegible] uprisings that lasted almost a quarter of a century bringing enormous destruction and social

sification. Likewise, the political and social tensions that led to the fall of the imperial system, the Civil War between Nationalists and Communists, and the Cultural Revolution that pitted devotees of Chairman Mao against the older generation and traditional values were internal, however much influenced by Western political discourses that [illegible] economic stagnation as well as in human lives and struggle.

Thus it would clearly be inadequate to portray China's recent political and cultural history primarily in terms of Chinese response to the West. It would be equally misleading to deny the profound consequences of the weakening of the Chinese political, social, and economic fabric over the past two centuries, in which Western incursions were both a cause and a symptom. In the cultural sphere, this took the form of imported Western styles, artistic educational systems, and art markets. More broadly, ongoing concerns with issues of identity and continuity might be seen as symptomatic of interactions with a pervasive environment of political and social disintegration.

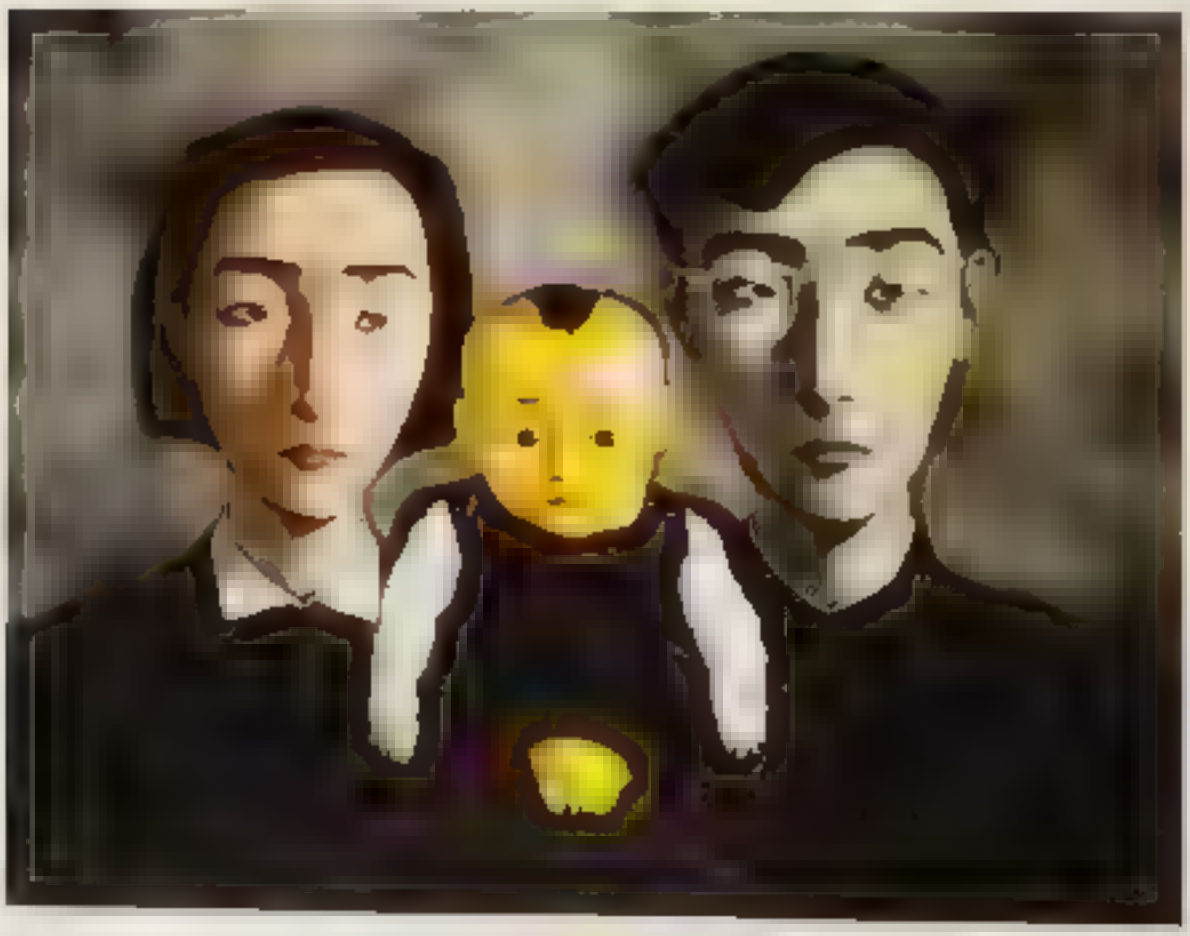
Issues of identity are everywhere in Chinese art of the last two centuries. Already in the nineteenth century the presence of foreign settlements in treaty ports such as Shanghai complicated the question of what Chinese culture meant in a context of new media, audiences, and institutions. Meanwhile, the problematic nature of artists' and patrons' identities caught between commercial motives and longer-held literati values came to prominence in the genre of portraiture. Especially in the twentieth century, artists have been confronted with an ever-widening range of styles, schools, media, and thematic orientations, including traditional Chinese modes, in situations where choices carried political as well as aesthetic implications. Many artists had split or transnational careers, and others operated in overseas communities where the tension between Chinese cultural identity and local affiliations could be acute. For twentieth-century China, operating in an international arena structured around competing modern nationalisms, the problem of identity reached all levels of both society and the political arena, as the visual arts became an important vehicle for government information and propaganda.

The most important dimension of the Chinese art of the last two centuries is an outgrowth of the fundamental changes in China's social structures that took place during that time. The [illegible] replacing the [illegible] and court-appointed officials. We have seen that the explosive growth of Shanghai resulted in new relationships in ways that had [illegible] to peasants, particularly in the summer months of [illegible] increase. The influx of population from many regions, the rising importance of banking and the demands of financial systems, and the availability of modern communications and transportation modes altered the quality of human interactions. New institutions formed, and old ones evolved, in response to changing conditions. In the artistic sphere, artists' associations emerged, but were less like literary societies and more like trade organizations, highly promoting the [illegible] welfare of their members.

The restructuring of work, domestic life, social relations, and politics under the Communist system after 1949 could hardly have been more complete. From the rearrangement of the agricultural economy into collective forms to the destruction of old economic and governing elites, traditional society was thoroughly transformed. The arts played a role in the formation of new communities through the bonds of shared cultural forms, from peasant prints to propaganda montage. Already in the Republican era earlier in the century artistic movements had forged communities of shared interest among groups of modernists or woodcut artists. Some of these communities reached across national boundaries to link Chinese artists in the West or in diaspora populations of Overseas Chinese around the world.

IMAGES OF THE SELF

The artistic genre most directly linked to issues of identity is portraiture, which became increasingly prominent in the last two centuries as



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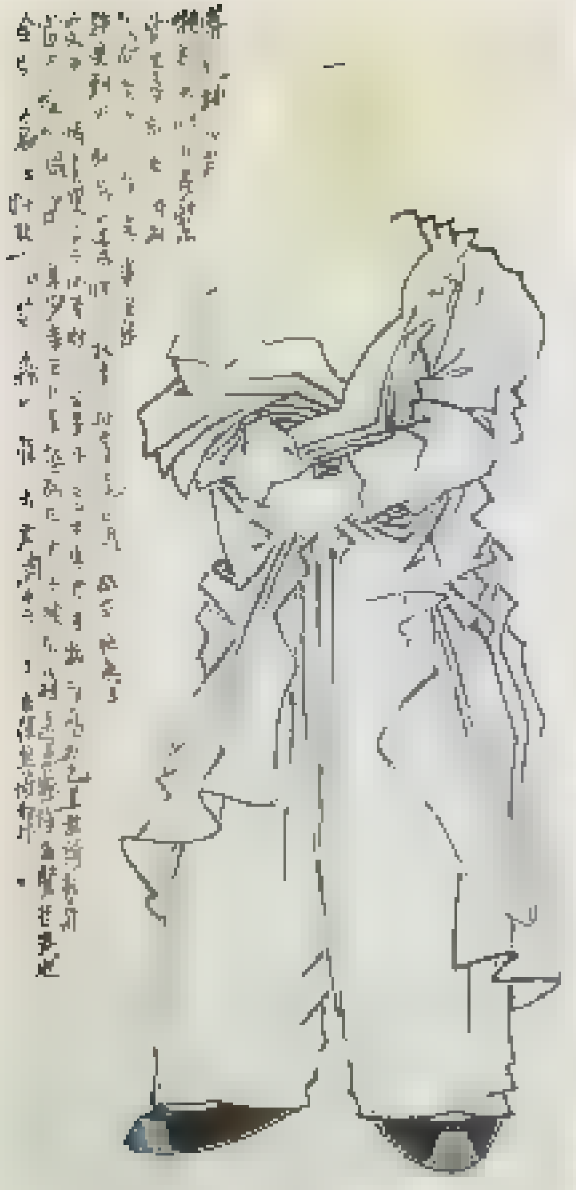


[illegible] 1840–1896 [illegible]

The [illegible] of [illegible] different [illegible] circumstances of [illegible] gested by Zhang Xiaogang's [illegible] painting [illegible] 1995 *Bloodline: The Big Family No.* [illegible] (Fig. 10-3). The lugubrious young couple [illegible] nearly stripped [illegible] persona and gender identity [illegible] in what seems almost an anti-portrait, are literally drawing their [illegible] via the red line [illegible] to the young son, who grows fat and ruddy even as the parents fade [illegible] him [illegible]. The [illegible] and focus on family identity and community in a generation of the politically mandated one-child family policy, where the iconic "big family" of the [illegible] should number no more than [illegible] rest not so much on the shoulders as [illegible] organs [illegible]

[illegible] world in turmoil, and his sense [illegible] have accomplished [illegible]. He may be [illegible] the contemporary Taiping Rebellion and [illegible] political [illegible] ness [illegible] a sense [illegible] though either concern [illegible] his [illegible] portrait makes powerful [illegible] in both visual and social terms and may embody a new sense of public responsibility and stature among nineteenth-century professional artists.

The discontent manifested in Ren Xiong's self-portrait [illegible] more explicitly directed at the political sphere in a portrait [illegible] as *The Disco[illegible]* (Fig. 10-5). The portrait was made by the Shanghai [illegible]

Wu Jiang Xun
1764–1835 *Beauty*
hang. One of a pair of

[illegible]

Fund. The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City

professional painter Ren Yi. Ren's demand

but was also an admirer of the better-educated. Was performance or other aspects of elite culture

[illegible]

also established a concern as an official and as a poet

[illegible] several that Ren Yi painted

may be a sure [illegible] has aspirations

[illegible] scholar-[illegible] as an official. The

portrait [illegible] carried a long

inscription by Wu which dilated his

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] and sweet [illegible] he indicate here

[illegible] heavy [illegible]

[illegible] depicted. Ren's image dramatizes

Wu Changshuo's stance by isolating

[illegible]

[illegible]

portraits of Wu. Ren Yi seems to be

[illegible] has own [illegible]

[illegible]

The [illegible] of passivity and [illegible]

[illegible] in Wu Changshuo's poetic account

of official life is one aspect of a broader

pattern of [illegible] of Chinese

[illegible] in Manchus. The

theme of [illegible] as the source

of neglect [illegible] lover of the ruler had

[illegible] as far back as the [illegible]

period [illegible] the rhapsodic

poems of Qu Yuan in the [illegible]

[illegible]

Few [illegible] emasculation were part

of early [illegible] the Qing period

when [illegible] military [illegible] was

[illegible] by cultural [illegible]

such as the compulsory shaving of

the forehead and dressing of the hair

in the Manchu style [illegible]

[illegible]

In the nineteenth century a series

of humiliating European annexations

[illegible] induced [illegible] expressions were superimposed on

Manchu [illegible] mechanisms of control.

[illegible] circumstances images [illegible] women

painted by [illegible] artists can be [illegible] plus

[illegible] identity, [illegible] gender roles [illegible]

[illegible] and projections of male anxiety

[illegible] beauties from the eighteenth

century [illegible] already [illegible]

[illegible] the women [illegible] in appearance

and [illegible] presented in [illegible] environments as [illegible] of desire and [illegible] in the [illegible]

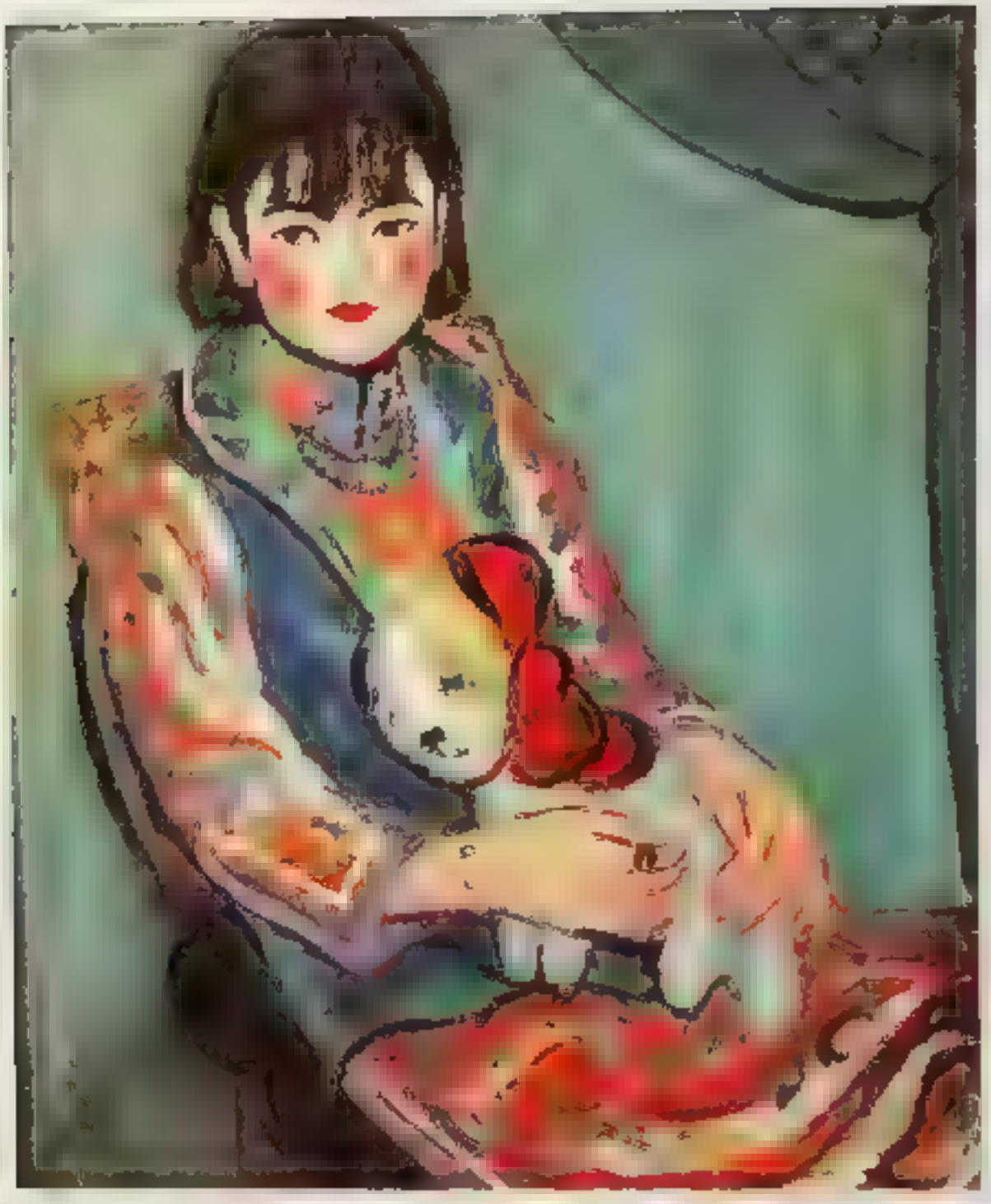
[illegible] possession [illegible] the [illegible]

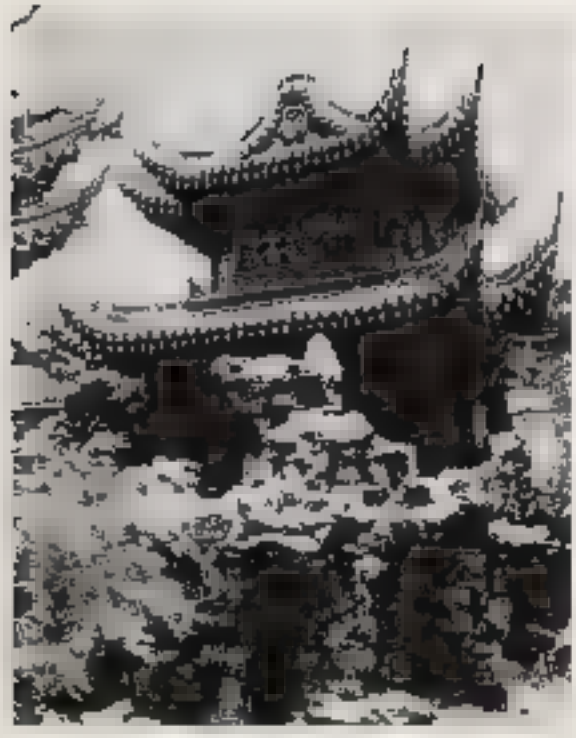
[illegible] Dai Xu, Gai Qi

[illegible] 1829 and Jiang Xun [illegible] 1764–1835 produced large numbers of images of a distinctive type of willowy beauty. The popularity of this type might be explained as a fashion for slender figures and delicate features but it also suggests a response to contemporary [illegible] needs. At the very least the type implies a compensation for concerns about [illegible] the [illegible] of images of [illegible] passive women shown as always available in the quiet precincts of the garden or other private quarters. The women are [illegible] depicted [illegible] performance [illegible] domestic tasks such [illegible] or sewing, but [illegible]

[illegible] 1830–6 [illegible] they are portrayed [illegible] features, sometimes [illegible] the [illegible] touches her [illegible] suggestive [illegible] lips, languorous poses and drapery [illegible] combined with the [illegible] of pared back and half-length views to convey qualities of sensuality, promiscuity, [illegible] and [illegible]. The identity of such women is ambiguous. The [illegible] might be portraits but more likely were idealized types of beauty. Residents of courtesans were [illegible] production of multiples suggests something like the status of pin-ups. One of Jiang Xun's works is quoted by the middle Ming painter Tang Yin, who [illegible] earlier images of courtesans and portraits [illegible] of identity and social status (see fig. 8.37 above).

Early twentieth-century images of women embedded [illegible] complex issues of identity [illegible] (1907, [illegible] 1920) [illegible] of Miss [illegible] (1918) [illegible] evokes [illegible] the French modernist painter Henri



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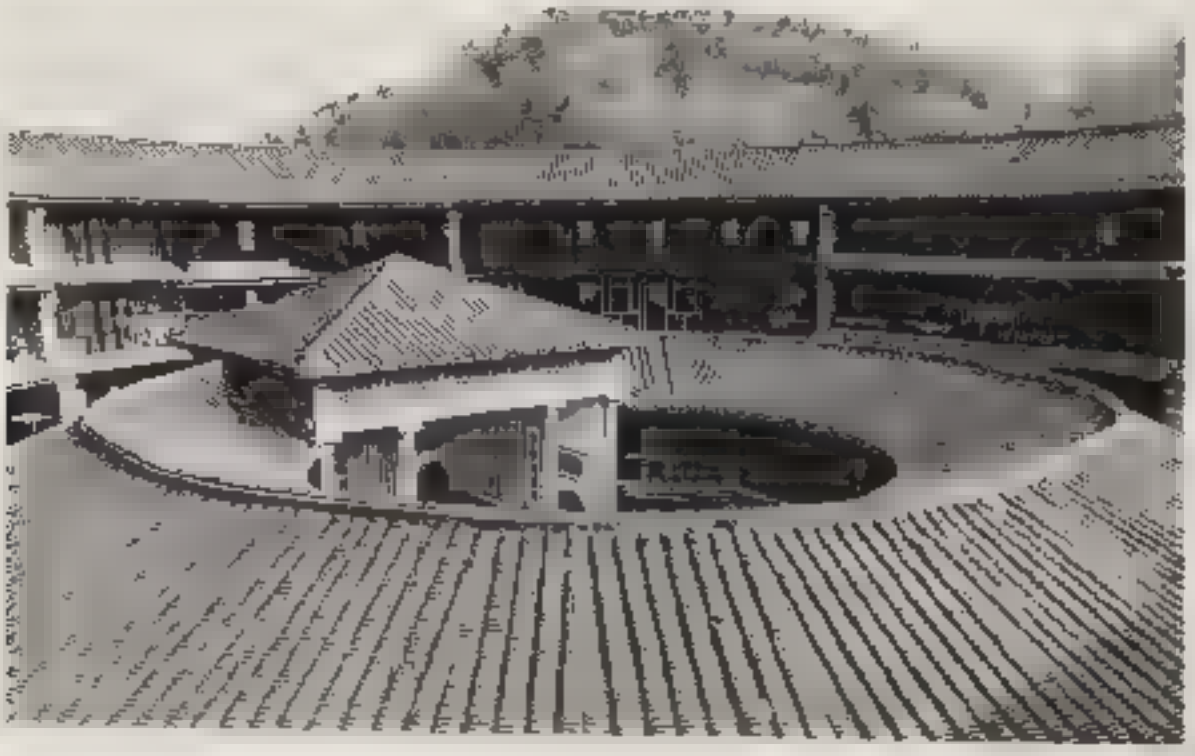


[illegible] by buildings, whose arms [illegible] the aboveground tombs in some Chinese family burials.

The outright destruction of cultural [illegible] brought about by the economics of urban modernization has been the subject of a number of [illegible] conscious contemporary artists. The 1995 performance by Lin Yilin (b. 1964) in the streets of the southern city of Guangzhou literally stopped traffic as he transported a cinderblock wall brick by brick across a major thoroughfare [illegible] construction site, [illegible] seemingly endless cycle of demolition and construction caused by economic development. [illegible] has produced [illegible] installations by the contemporary artist Yin Xiuzhen (b. 1963) [illegible] absence from the detritus of Beijing's urban renewal, with [illegible] of salvaged roof tiles [illegible] of destroyed communities of courtyard houses, conveying her sense of a pervasive process of social decay.

POST-LITERATI ARTS AND NATIONAL-STYLE PAINTING

Guohua

Another kind of cultural continuity over the past two centuries that merits separate discussion because of its artistic importance involves practitioners of painting and calligraphy in traditional media—brush, ink, and colors on paper using an amateur [illegible], focusing on painting styles and subjects associated with literati artists in earlier times: landscapes, birds and flowers, symbolic plants, or scholarly gatherings. These choices took on added significance when the alternatives were not only academic or professional styles but international media such as lithography and oil painting and a vastly expanded range of possible themes. The term "post-literati" art is used to reflect the dramatically changed social and cultural circumstances in which artists operated in comparison to the late [illegible] Ming and earlier times.

In the twentieth century, a further subcategory of post-literati art appeared in so-called guohua, "national-style painting." Guohua began as a programmatic movement in the early years

5 [illegible] in [illegible] in the [illegible] ink on paper

of the Republic. In the term *guohua* — "new national painting" or "painting for the new nation" — originally a reformist counterpart to the national language (vernacular) literary movement — combined traditional brush and ink media and formats with contemporary and prewar themes and some realistic representational techniques derived from the West. The movement had important political implications, as the painting of an emerging Chinese nation and literati lineages became linked with nativist overtones as the painting property of a Chinese ethnocultural complex, serving as an academic alternative to Western-style painting. Where post-literati painting conveyed an act of identification with imagined communities of past artists, *guohua* suggested a kind of national citizenship.

The political implications of the *guohua* movement were not unprecedented. The adoption and sponsorship of literati styles by the early Qing-dynasty court (see Figs. 9-8 above) and later in the Qianlong Schools was in some ways a parallel effort to borrow academically prestigious art forms to promote the ideology of the state. Although *guohua* (along with the art of the communes) might also belong in a discussion of art and politics, the political content of many products of this movement was not especially prominent.

Among early nineteenth century artists, Qian Du (1763–1844) had definite connections with the literati painters of the past. He had inherited wealth from his prominent Hangzhou family, and his father was a friend of the mid-eighteenth-century painter–calligrapher Jin Nong (see page 347 above). Qian Du's *Strolling in Moonlight by the Thatched Hall on Mount Lu* (c. 1813, Fig. 10-16) is evocative of the world in which his painting persona, Suzhou scholar-gentry such as Shen Zhou and Wen Zhengming (see Figs. 8-33 above), figures converse in a moonlit clearing in front of a garden compound with high walls and sheltered cottages that suggests a privileged, exclusive community. The dedication on the painting mentions the host making tea and invoking twenty-five guests to join him. Such personal dedications continued to be a means of establishing networks of association and, as in earlier times, certain styles, subjects, and literary or historical references also implied bonds of shared culture. Also as in earlier times, many such dedications were probably only formalities, and the literati-style works they accompanied were signs of status rather than open to outsiders. In any case, the very existence of a market for such works of art testifies to the ongoing prestige of literati modes. The prominent features, colorism, and densely patterned surfaces of the painted rocks are distinctive of Qian Du's own era, with something in the same vein for overwrought detail found in the Yu Gardens of Shanghai (see Fig. 10-9 above).

The careers of two painter–calligraphers active in the late nineteenth century demonstrate how extensions of conservative modes could be vehicles for signifying various [illegible]. Zhao Zhiqian (1829–1884 and Wu Changshuo (1844–1927—see his portrait, Fig. 10-3 above) were from the southeastern coastal province of Zhejiang and both were devotees of antiquarian script of the sort engraved on ancient bronzes and stone steles (see Figs. 9-4, 3-2 above). In addition to their literary and scholarly interests, both men had [illegible] at least brief official careers. Their [illegible] has [illegible] the types of literati or scholar-artists in many respects, but with many marks of an emerging modern social environment. Although most of Zhao Zhiqian's works bear personal dedications, he evidence of contemporary sales makes clear that he usually painted for money. Wu Changshuo participated in bi wu de works as a persona, association and fellowship, but some of the artistic societies he participated in had public-relations and marketing functions extending into the realm of [illegible] with students and collectors in Japan who organized exhibitions of his work in the 1920s. Active mostly in Suzhou, Shanghai, and Hangzhou, Wu was a founding member of the Yu Garden Painting Association of Calligraphers and Painters and other societies of painters and seal carvers in Shanghai, became a director of the Xiling Seal Society headquartered at the West Lake in Hangzhou after 1913. The discomfort we perceive in the portrait of Wu as a discourteous Qing mandarin official (see Fig. 10-5) may have arisen in part out of a heightened awareness of the disconnection between traditional roles and contemporary realities.

Zhao's art, which bring his artistic [illegible] ment as well as with calligraphy and seal-carving scripts but both were collective and productive [illegible] as well. Flowers, fruit, and symbolic plants w[illegible] heavily emphasized as subjects, along with [illegible] sidehill landscapes. The nineteenth-century Hangzhou school artists raised recital genres of bird and flower or plant paintings to a central position, answering [illegible] contemporary tastes for [illegible] and popular subject matter. Zhang Zhiqian and Wu Changshuo added new qualities of saturated color and dense surface chemical compositions [illegible] with overlapped patterns [illegible] blended [illegible] and [illegible]. Zhao's painting patterns are [illegible] particularly the appeal of their paintings and suggest a respite [illegible] pleasure [illegible] produced so [illegible] cases [illegible] the case [illegible] Wu Changshuo [illegible] was the Shanghai professional Re[illegible] Yi again [illegible] 0-53 [illegible]

[illegible]

More subtle, but equally important, are the connections between sculpture and image in both artists' works. This is partly a formal relationship, as the rock show bending moulinations of branches, vines, and leaves picked up by the hems of the high-waisted, exceptional [illegible]. On a deeper level, personal motifs are often related like characters in a Chinese text, combined on the basis of potential for meaning rather than the logic of real-world relationships. In Zhao Zhiqian's Cactus and Rock [illegible] 17 [illegible] a set of four hanging scrolls painted with a vista of a garden in the southeastern city of Wenzhou in 186[illegible] [illegible] plants. Zhao's inscriptions point both to the novelty of the subject of cactus and the arbitrariness of the juxtaposition of oleander

> The subject of cactus has never been painted in a village in Ruian. The largest grows to be the size of a very tall [illegible] shape it calls to mind strange goblins. In Wenzhou, oleander grows well, and with a hundred branches. In a spirit of playfulness, we combined the two together.

Fight yet on the records the theoretical justification for such arbitrary combinations. "Since we are a [illegible] acquainted, I need not tarry him. An easily pick any [illegible] the plants being metaphors [illegible] known and [illegible] Zhao's painting, Zhao [illegible] pp. 62–63.

[illegible] use of [illegible] long [illegible] but extending [illegible] combination of subjects from [illegible] phoenix, [illegible] but such paintings usually [illegible] Flat [illegible] paintings by Zhao and Wu [illegible] pack [illegible] elements into a surface without [illegible] grounding or [illegible]. In the [illegible] the use of the [illegible] character of [illegible] produce meaning [illegible] operations is very prominent, though much disguised by the sensuous richness of surface. This [illegible] of the [illegible] element is paralleled in the nineteenth-century collagelike [illegible] and may have been based in a widespread archaeological awareness of conventional ancient scripts and design motifs.

The [illegible] paintings [illegible] and gilded at [illegible] price, with the mixed blessings of [illegible] sources, have [illegible] a reaction against the originality-stifling weight of the past. The [illegible] of a positional art dependent on communication of changing social and cultural [illegible] rather than fossilized repetition of old modes, important mid-twentieth-century painters such as Huang Binhong (1864–1955) from Anhui and Fu Baoshi (1904–1965) from Nanjing performed in modern modes of scholarship, teaching, and publishing while consistently exploring aspects of traditional styles. Huang was an editor [illegible] the Xiwuqu Yingshi, the singular compendium of Chinese [illegible]-related [illegible] Fu Baoshi was educated partly in Japan and wrote many [illegible] books about [illegible] painting as well as scholarly studies of [illegible] such as Shi [illegible] 9[illegible] 6 [illegible] 1 is a [illegible] of [illegible] the past was shared by other prominent artists, such as the internationally active painter, collector, and forger Zhang Daqian [illegible] 1983), perhaps the most [illegible] Chinese artist [illegible] Both Fu Baoshi and Zhang Daqian were [illegible] skilled technicians whose popularity led [illegible] risks of repetition and even self-parody. In [illegible] respects, his [illegible] presence not so much the


仙人掌上

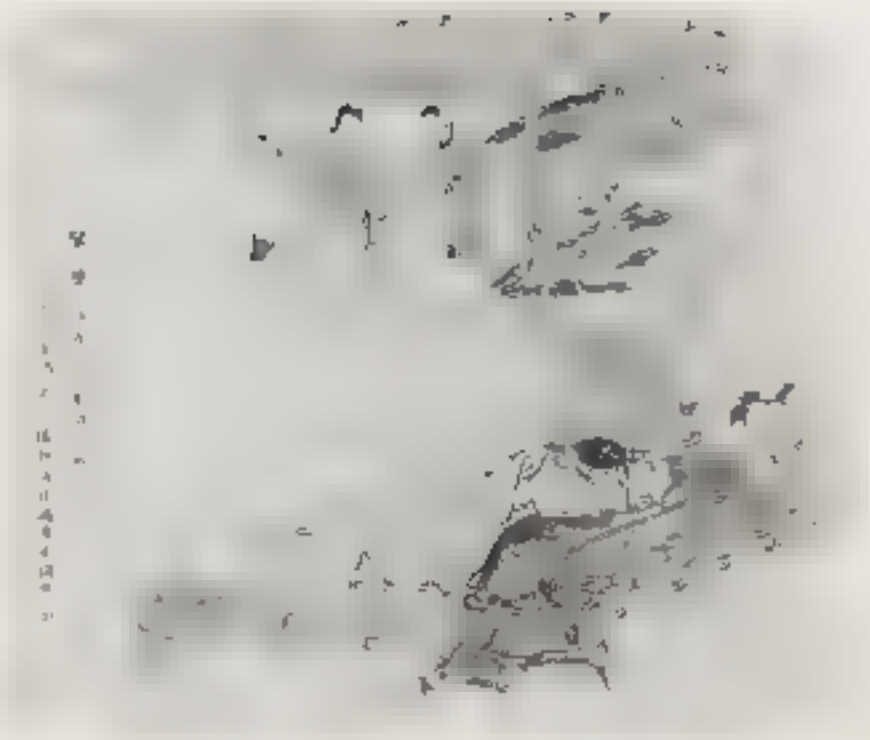
[illegible] 1942 The Fushang Monastery.

[illegible] Hsia Kuei's high-culture hanging scroll The Bridge of the Indian Reviewer [illegible] 18 [illegible] 1659 [illegible] provides simple bird's-eye view of [illegible] its windshattered boats on [illegible] waves [illegible] unprecedented [illegible] composition. An [illegible] argument arises if mass of undulating dark [illegible] lines does and washes is much harder to comprehend. The title of the painting written just above suggests that this should be [illegible] back but the very placement of the calligraphy encourages a reading as a great vertical cliff viewed straight on and radically foreshortened from the [illegible] foreground scene. The form of the dark mass recalls images of rocks from the seventeenth century that conveyed a physical intensity (see Fig. 5 above). [illegible] it is worth to avoid reading this as a work that conveyed some [illegible] terms of emotional [illegible] perhaps even [illegible] by his [illegible] mood. The title of this painting is the [illegible] of the catastrophic [illegible] war. Ferry and preparation [illegible] 1658–1660 suggests other metaphorical [illegible] of [illegible] political [illegible] 5 [illegible] very identity as an artist was established from internal contradictions. He consolidated his artistic persona [illegible] the [illegible] of the seventeenth century [illegible] loyal supporter of Shitao and the model of literary [illegible] and political activist [illegible] Xun (see pages 340–39[illegible]). Shi Kuo later became a victim of the cultural Revolution, imprisoned and abused to the point of physical and mental [illegible].

Liu Yuefu [illegible] 1942 devoted some fifteen years of his career to the subject of the Taihang Mountains [illegible] which he visited on many painting study trips to Shanxi Province. This seems a curiously old-fashioned regimen, reminiscent of Wang Hui's obsession with Mount Huang in the late fourteenth century (see pages 306–309) [illegible] composition is a huge 1984 version of the subject is also remarkable in several ways. [illegible] Northern Song monumental landscape with overlapping planes of stalactite cliffs and [illegible] rock faces (see Fig. 7 [illegible] 9 above). There are also many contemporary [illegible] of his work. Since the Taihang Mountains were the site of military campaigns during the Sino-Japanese War, the painting embraces recent historical and patriotic associations. At the same time, the somber masses and stark emptiness of its mountains [illegible] abstract [illegible] play with even more particular overtones of a Mark Rothko-esque reduction of form and inner luminosity of color. The potential of such gouache paintings for multiple interpretations and rich, unpredictable responses on the part of the beholder is at its greatest when the reduced potential of played-out traditions

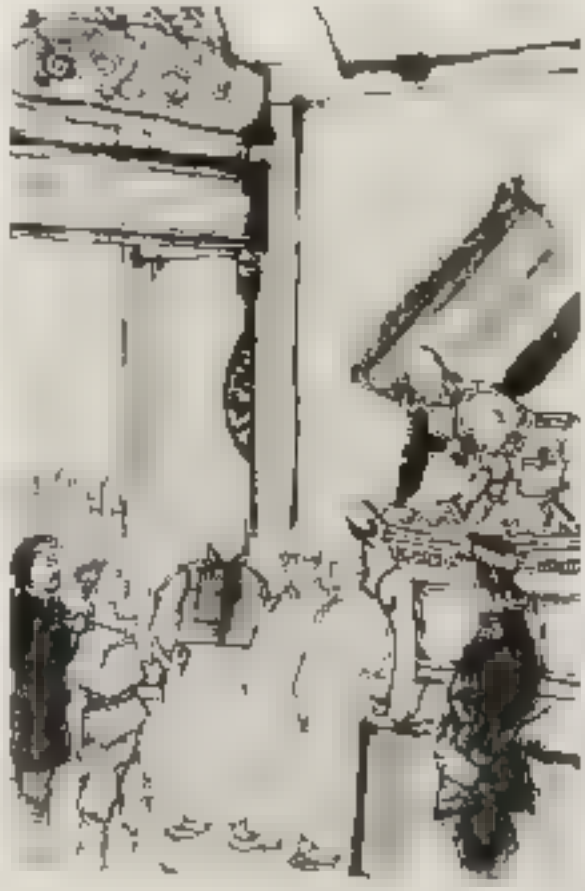
FUNCTIONAL ARTS

Functional modes of art are those in which the content and treatment are clearly shaped by an external purpose or agenda and often also by suitable cultural contexts. Examples include illustrations, where imagery is secondary to some story or narrative, though we will leave the large category of political art, propaganda and wartime posters for separate discussion. Illustrations for books and periodicals, covers, commercial art for advertising, and some kinds of documentary or illustrational photography. Social functions are also strongly determined by the iconography and treatment of many kinds of portraiture and ceremonial pieces such as birthday paintings. Often these modes of art-making were the province of highly specialized professional artists or craftsmen, but as we have seen, the distinctions between professionals in the one hand and amateur or scholarly artists on the other become much less clear and useful at the end of the imperial era. Many artists working in detailed, detached modes straightforwardly engaged in art commerce in the Ming and Qing periods, even publishing their prices in the eighteenth century. Moreover, with the establishment of formal art education institutions in the early twentieth century, the concept of art as a professional work underwent a new significant hardening, passing through academic curriculum and the studio. A very large percentage of notable artists in the twentieth century have been professionally trained in art schools, and in the PRC for long periods most prominent artists were affiliated with art academies or artists' associations, receiving a set salary for their labor, whatever the orientation of their work.



142. Ren Xun
1835–1893. *The Interrupted Dream* from *The Romance of the Western Chamber*

143. Wu Jiayao
d. 1893. *Thief in the [illegible]*



[illegible]

10.26 Chen Shizeng (Hengke, 1876–1924)
Beggar Woman
[illegible]

was outside the bounds [illegible] the art world, [illegible] though he must have had access to some local collections of old paintings. His chief sources were probably woodblock-printed painting manuals that illustrated a wide range of motifs and compositions, which may account for the strongly graphic quality of his painting style. The manuals probably fed the artist's cultivated [illegible] and his additional involvement with subjects from popular religion gave much of his work a dynamic directness. His Lending the Phoenixes by Playing the Flute from 1848 (Fig. 10.25) is one of a pair of large hanging scrolls with figures of female and male immortals riding phoenixes. They are presented dramatically enthroned by surrounding large calligraphic texts written in a range of forms, from loose running script to archaic seal script. In contrast to the New Year's prints, where images could be read out [illegible] words, the calligraphy here challenges the pictorial forms. Large written characters pick up the dark, blunt rhythms and graphic energy of the painted figures and compete with them for visual prominence and position, taking on a charismatic power. The crowded, somewhat chaotic placement of the inscriptions gives a raw urgency and has something of the effect of a collection of graffiti. Su Renshan's painting also embodies [illegible] of the same ornamental [illegible] script styles and a heightened integration of picture and words, as the painting-and-writing scrolls of [illegible] urban artists such as Zhu [illegible]

[illegible]

And the [illegible] of [illegible] painters [illegible]

[illegible] and street [illegible] as Zhou Chen's [illegible] Ming Beggars and Street Characters (see [illegible] above) [illegible] For [illegible] are precedents for such subjects, but in later Qing and Republican periods these are treated with a sharper sense [illegible] social [illegible] issues. One of the most interesting examples, the album of Beijing customs [illegible] from 1915 by Chen Shizeng (known as Hengke, 1876–1924), suggests an ethnographic project of documenting urban folkways before they disappeared in the face of social and technological changes. Chen Shizeng depicts many itinerant [illegible] as peddlers, street [illegible] vendors, and [illegible] performers of unique social roles among the thirty-[illegible] images, with brief ethnographic accounts included among some of the inscriptions. Most of the figures would not seem out of place in a Ming or Qing-period picture, but the image of an old beggar woman supplicating a rickshaw passenger suggests the [illegible] in stark terms. The rickshaw itself was a modern conveyance, dependent on ball-bearing wheels as much as on muscle power. The passenger in Western dress gives only a fleeting glance back at the beggar woman as he speeds away and out of the frame, as if he were watching a disappearing culture [illegible] as the road [illegible] Ironically, the beggar woman retains a bit of [illegible] color even in her patched rags.

[illegible] world of street vendors, [illegible] entertainers [illegible] ous one that could embody [illegible] the broader social order. Many popular uprisings and full-scale rebellions through much of Chinese history fed on the discontents of physically and economically displaced groups. The social and systemic changes that have accompanied economic liberalization in the PRC in very recent years have been as wrenching in some respects as those of earlier times. Large

10-27 Fang Lijun (b. 1963), Series II, No. 6 [illegible] Oil on canvas, 6 5/8 × 6 5/8 (2 × 2 m). [illegible]

numbers of workers pushed into unemployment by privatization of state industries, along with rural migrants, laborers in search of a better life, have flooded the coastal cities, giving rise to a substantial rootless population. Among these are the so-called *liumang* vagrants or petty hoodlums, who seem to be a primary point of reference for the contemporary painter Fang Lijun (b. 1963). His group figure paintings are by no means documentary, and the precise identity or social class of his subjects remains elusive. Fang often represents males in groups, wearing clothing that takes on the character of a uniform, even a stylish one in some cases, with their identically shaved heads and oppressively close-up presentation conveying the vaguely ominous effect of an approaching crowd (fig. 10-27). The figures are idle, and their heavy-featured expressions, whether bored, accusatory, or sneering, are always veiled and carry an edge of threat. Fang's pictorial type has a counterpart in other contemporary media, such as the popular novels of Wang Shuo that focus on the language and culture of cynical urban operators, and related television soap operas which bring that social type before a mass audience.

POLITICAL ARTS

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, Chinese political thinkers have considered the visual arts to be a key component of social and cultural reform programs. In the PRC, political [illegible] of visual arts extended to every level of art education, production, and dissemination, to a degree difficult to comprehend by participants in societies where artistic autonomy is more highly valued. However, any adequate understanding of the careers of PRC artists or the visual products of that system must take that political context into account.

Early in the century the visual arts became instruments of propaganda and resistance in wartime and vehicles of satire, protest, or critique during periods of social crisis and disintegration. Public spaces, media, and art institutions also played important roles in an era of cultural contact.

Images of War, Resistance, and Propaganda

In some images of urban life social discord is present only as a threatening atmosphere, but China in the past two centuries has been more strongly marked by outright armed conflicts, rebellions, and wars in exhausting succession. The functional arts that emerged in times of war were occasionally documentary, and almost always propagandistic in nature, distinguished from other kinds of political art primarily by explicitly political subject matter. The leaders of the Taiping rebels of the mid-nineteenth century, who hoped to establish the Kingdom of Heavenly Peace on a mixture of principles from Old Testament Protestantism and ancient Chinese mythology, decorated the walls of their palaces with conventional paintings of flowering plants and buildings in landscapes. More pointed were the battle paintings commissioned by the Qing leaders who suppressed the rebellion. A tapestry overview of *A Battle Between Qing Forces and Taiping Rebels* (fig. 10-28) clearly shows the disposition of forces and a bloody cross-section of the battlefield, as the besieged Taiping rebels in the center are systematically annihilated by inescapable lines of cannon fire from the surrounding Qing forces on the battlements.

[illegible]

Ideological Control of the Arts

10.32 Tiananmen Square

[illegible] 5 feet [illegible] 5.5 m [illegible]

legislative building on Beijing's Tiananmen Sq[illegible] in 1959 [illegible] with its esplanade's potential space for panoramic landscape [illegible] and [illegible] plains [illegible] because [illegible] location as a backdrop [illegible] Mao Zedong poem and straight rows of [illegible] such as a [illegible]

[illegible] Spaces and Art Installations

Mon[illegible] monuments in public places can activate imaginary and symbolic spaces inside the tangible political space of a government building. The most [illegible] such [illegible] at Tiananmen [illegible] the imperial palace in Beijing, originally a place to receive [illegible] leading [illegible] the Gate of Heavenly Peace at the south entrance [illegible] the palace [illegible] 2 [illegible] the Qing and founding of the Republic [illegible] was [illegible] major political demonstrations [illegible] protest against the [illegible] peace treaty [illegible] ceded former German possessions in China [illegible] Japan gave its name to a widespread May Fourth Movement for radical political and [illegible] modernization [illegible] western models, which included such figures as Lu Xun. Further demonstrations on [illegible] protested the massacre by police in Shanghai's International Settlement [illegible] a crowd protesting against the shooting of a worker [illegible] 1949 the founding of the People's Republic was proclaimed from Tiananmen Gate and National [illegible] celebrations were held [illegible] Tiananmen. The [illegible] and walls of the [illegible] were [illegible] public [illegible] and [illegible] the 1950s a marble Monument to the People's Heroes with [illegible] 196 [illegible] was [illegible] through [illegible] congress building [illegible] the People and the National Museum of Chinese History dominate the west and east sides of the square. The History Museum was constructed in socialist tradition of opposition and alienation from the artifacts of the past. Tiananmen was [illegible] with political and [illegible] monuments [illegible] where [illegible] included in the palace complex [illegible] the new communist regime. The monumental image of a human Mao hung at the center of the gate to the palace and the placement of the [illegible] Memorial [illegible] the palace's [illegible] at its [illegible] death in 1976 only sharpened [illegible] contention [illegible] A [illegible] demonstration at the Monument to the People's Heroes in Tiananmen Square honoring Premier Zhou Enlai, after his death in [illegible] was brutally suppressed, and the mass pro-democracy demonstrations in Tiananmen in the [illegible] spring of 1989 ending in the massacre of June 4 [illegible] the great political [illegible] twentieth century [illegible] and [illegible] global media [illegible]

Ideas of [illegible] space can be [illegible] as imagery or as [illegible] as much as in political gathering spaces such as Tiananmen. The shift toward an emerging public arena is marked by the juxtaposition of Ren's portrait of Wu Changqing as a [illegible] above [illegible] which shows [illegible]

C-33 Chen Shizeng
Tungke (1876–1924)
Viewing Paintings at an Exhibition

[illegible]

[illegible] Western dress [illegible] public space. While many native place and trade [illegible] performed [illegible] for their members [illegible] gap between [illegible] or [illegible] employed [illegible] with organ [illegible] activate [illegible] Paul [illegible] suggest [illegible] role of the arts beyond [illegible] and personal.

Another dimension [illegible] that [illegible] public arts institutions such as art schools and museums. The transformation of the Jing palace complex into a public museum and the placement of the National Museum of History across from the area. [illegible] the people are reminded of the centrality of [illegible] history and art [illegible]

[illegible] Palace collection were [illegible] the public as early as 1924 [illegible] ownership of the last abdicated Qing [illegible] household [illegible] the palace [illegible] these museums have [illegible] politics and [illegible] and educational [illegible] the paintings [illegible] to Taiwan during the Civil War and [illegible] National Palace Museum [illegible] the Palace Museum in Beijing [illegible] [illegible] Museum have [illegible] and support for Chinese [illegible]

[illegible] the First [illegible] of Qu's burial complex to accomplish several [illegible] the goals as [illegible] diplomat [illegible] the outset in 19[illegible] the Republic sought [illegible] to produce the taller [illegible]

[illegible] Qing dynasty (1850–1940) and then Dusso [illegible] saw the arts as nothing less than a subs[illegible] of religion in the creation of an [illegible] society that is simultaneously as modern as technolog[illegible] and international [illegible] The arts [illegible] had a practical role to play in modernizing [illegible] Western models [illegible] as the [illegible] for the mechanical drawing and [illegible] needed for industrial design and [illegible]

The reform organization and overseas educational background of many of the founders of the Republican government combined with the [illegible] for modern [illegible] gave Western art forms a clear advantage in the competition for political sponsorship. Returning artists who had studied in Europe or Japan imported some

modernist modes. [illegible] the staple curriculum of the emerging art schools was some version of Western academic and realist styles. These were [illegible] by the Chinese reformers and thus congenial to the goals of the nationalist New Culture Movement, but distinctly separate from the degenerate formalist modernisms of Europe and the [illegible]. It is useful to keep this last point in mind, because what are termed international modernisms were mostly an affiliation [illegible] in the West [illegible] Chinese [illegible] modernist images [illegible] representation [illegible] history of official support and institutional sponsorship from the early days of the Republican era through the cultural politics of the PRC. There were thus at any time in China three major modes of artistically and ideologically charged art after the imperial age ended in 1911: Western academic or realist styles, imported modernisms, and revisions of traditional styles promoted by those associated with a National Essence School seeking the preservation of native culture.

Each of these diverse modes of art had some role in the formation of [illegible] art education that [illegible], so that debates concerning the political functions and importance of art also played out in the politics of the art world. Most Chinese art schools and academies down to the present have had distinct parallel departments of oil painting—usually in realist styles—and guohua or "national style" painting, utilizing traditional media of brush and ink or colors on paper, along with departments of sculpture, printmaking, and the like. Modernist modes had a more localized base at the National Hangzhou Arts Academy and in various Shanghai-based art schools and societies. The more limited success of modernist modes relative to the others was in part due to its marginal status, which made modernist monuments particularly vulnerable to destruction during such episodes as the Japanese bombing of Shanghai in the 1930s and the campaigns of the Red Guards in the Cultural Revolution years of the late 1960s. Modernism's "failure" in China can even be considered such [illegible] in its lack of penetration into the intrinsically public arenas of architecture and industrial product design, combined with the [illegible] destruction of [illegible] those buildings. This meant that modernism's most visible legacy [illegible] graphic design of journals and advertising, and in some Expressionist [illegible] arts.

[illegible] early [illegible] and art world practices in [illegible] were [illegible] constant [illegible] positions and events that marked the history of [illegible] personalities can [illegible] that [illegible] but the careers of a few key figures may [illegible] important issues. [illegible] (1868–1940), who had studied in Germany and France, was ideally positioned as Minister of Education in the early years of the Republic, and [illegible] official policies for the arts. He felt that aesthetic education should have a central role in shaping the citizens of a new society, and that the cultivation of aesthetic refinement would lead to a deeper perception of reality and to a release from feelings of greed and prejudice that were obstacles to the formation of a new Chinese social order. Cai was an energetic promoter of Western art forms, which he saw as possessing an aesthetic and social relevance that traditional Chinese painting could not equal. His emphasis on cultural regeneration saw a special role for education of the younger generation, which found expression in the pages of the journal New Youth (Xin qingnian), first published in 1915 and edited by Chen Duxiu, whom Cai later appointed as dean of the college of letters at Beijing University and who [illegible] one of the founders of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921.

Cai Yuanpei's governmental activities for the Republic included the establishment of an Office of Social Education in 1912, charged with promoting cultural education. One of his appointees was the writer Lu Xun, put in charge of the section overseeing museums, libraries, drama, and music. Lu was one of the first to give public lectures on art in which he emphasized its social and ethical functions. Lu Xun's central role in fostering the woodcut movement as an instrument of modernization, social consciousness

and revolutionary propaganda has been discussed above (see pages 390–34[illegible]). They also promoted exhibitions and museums as venues for a [illegible] social awareness of the arts.

An academies were the main bearers of the political programs and art work of the period. They were involved in following the founding of the Republic in 1912. Government attention focused on the academies through the appointment of their officers, the supervision of curricula, or the promotion of specific styles and techniques as occurred under the PRC. Since art academies were the main training grounds for art teachers, political control was [illegible] and effectively disseminated to a very broad public. The major government-sponsored academies were [illegible] a wide spectrum of art associations, societies, and organizations that emerged in every China, many quite transient but nonetheless energetic. Because of their congested official status, and [illegible] locations, the major academies in Beijing, Shanghai and Hangzhou had more enduring roles in the [illegible] of art. These were [illegible] institutions shaped and changed by historical events and internal personalities. The [illegible] reforms of the early years of the Republic, political repression in the late 1920s, Sino-Japanese conflict in the 1930s and early 1940s, the Civil War and Communist victory in 1949 and [illegible] campaigns of the 1950s and the Cultural Revolution of the late 1960s and early 1970s [illegible] only the most prominent landmarks of the political landscape, profoundly shaped by institutions and the careers of those who worked within them.

Xu Beihong, Lin Fengmian and Liu Haisu played foundational roles in the major urban academies and had careers that extended into the regime of the [illegible]. These key figures had substantial European experience and were sympathetic to Western art modes and movements, exemplifying the general role played by students returned from Japan or Europe in the formation of art institutions in twentieth-century China. And all three men significantly affected the early artistic strategies in the context of a changing cultural landscape after their return to China.

Xu Beihong (1895–1953) was a central figure in the art world and in art education in the years of the Republic and the early years of the People's Republic as well. He studied in Shanghai and Tokyo as a young man and in 1919 [illegible] the orbit of Cai Yuanpei, who appointed him a teacher at Beijing University. Along with other reform-minded associates of the New Culture Movement, he saw rapid decline in Chinese painting as art declined and urged a synthesis of Western painting modes with whatever of the old could be salvaged from native approaches. As for many artists and writers, the general [illegible] paper provided important formal experiences. After a trip to Singapore and Indonesia, Xu became sponsored student to France, where he studied the academic style and participated in official salon exhibitions. He received a China [illegible] for another university appointment by Cai Yuanpei.

Xu Beihong was an accomplished draftsman and painter in a conservative realist style. After his return to China he accepted many commissions of symbolic styles, usually combining traditional Chinese media of ink and colors on paper with European academic drawing techniques and modeling and shaping. His subjects were often Chinese or hybrid. Xu's status as an officially known artist and frequent representative at China's cultural events and congresses abroad means that his work has a historical importance quite independent of its quality and sometimes of the artist's intent. His [illegible] Fuxi's Creation of Humanity (1930–34), a full-scale adaptation of European history painting modes to a Chinese subject and medium of ink and colors on paper. The art of the painting exemplifies the ways in which art can be captured by political discourses that take on a life of their own. Xu's painting illustrates the story of an old man who resides in a remote mountain [illegible] his view by viewing a [illegible] by an [illegible] of his descendants over the years. The work was executed in 1943 while Xu was engaged in patriotic missions in support of the resistance against Japanese invasion. Many of the

figures are versions of heroic, early Modernist academic nudes, and some are clearly linked to suggestions of a program of pan-Asian cooperation against the Japanese. In any case, his work [illegible] the notice of Mao Zedong, whose interpretation of it as a parable of the power of communal effort to accomplish anything ensured that the painting [illegible] only be read as a socialist icon, and no doubt assisted Xu Beihong's position in the art hierarchy of the Peoples Republic. After [illegible] he was made head of the Central Academy of Fine Arts in Beijing and also Chairman of the China Artists Association, where he was well positioned to promote a realist, resident-friendly anti-modernist aesthetic [illegible] the PRC.

Lin Fengmian (1900–1991) went from Shanghai to Paris in 1918, where he studied at the École des Beaux-Arts and at the Montparnasse. Lin found contemporary trends in European painting much more congenial than Xu Beihong and had a special affinity for Matisse. After his return to China in 1925, Lin again encountered Cai Yuanpei, who in 1927 offered him the opportunity to start a new national art academy in Hangzhou. Lin gathered a teaching staff that included many fellow students returned from France and promulgated a program, "To introduce Western art to reform traditional art, to revolution Chinese and Western art to create contemporary art" (Shu Yun, 49, and Artists of Twentieth-Century China, p. 49). Lin Fengmian was a pivotal figure as an institution builder and teacher and several of his students are among the best known painters of the late century, including [illegible] Fu Baoshi, all [illegible] seen in Lin's own work.

The hard-nosed teacher of this generation of teachers and educators was Li Hua (1899–1994), who was associated with Shanghai-area institutions for most of his career. He opened his own art school in Shanghai at the age of six and was one of the first to introduce life drawing into the curriculum. An exhibition he organized that included nude figure painting studies was considered scandalous in some circles. His first trip to Europe, again with the hope of seeing Western art, did not come until 1929, but he returned [illegible] 1933 and [illegible] Paris. After 1933 his main center of activity was the Shanghai Academy of Art, successor to his earlier ventures into art education. In his early decades Li followed the seemingly paradox of championing Western art when in China, while promoting and exhibiting *guohua* art when in Europe. Aside from secreting his role as an artistic rebel, which Li cherished, his path reveals the disillusionment, linkage of artistic aspiration [illegible] artistic formations of contemporary Western art style, which yet conservative or modernist, were significant in China [illegible] most for [illegible] otherness from traditional Chinese painting and served as a visual [illegible] of the new culture of the Republic. In Europe, on the other hand, the practice and exhibition of *guohua*-style works not only responded to audience expectations but also constituted an identity of Chinesenesse. Despite the [illegible] promotion of Western art in China, Xu Beihong and Lin Fengmian were [illegible] the

10-34 Xu Beihong
[illegible] Yu Gong
Foolish Old Man
Removes the Mountain

conflict in the anti-Black Paintings campaign was the rivalry between Jiang Qing and the ailing Premier Zhou Enlai, who was seen as a champion of traditional culture.

For artists active during Chairman Mao's lifetime and especially during the Cultural Revolution years, even hints of irony and ambivalence in the intensely politicized sphere of public imagery could have drastic personal consequences. Artists of the younger generation who were children or youths during the Cultural Revolution may look at images of Chairman Mao as inescapable icons in their visual culture, to be freely manipulated or reworked with a mixture of nostalgia and cynicism in an era of greater openness. The oil painter Liu Dahong (b. 1962) borrows iconic images of Chairman Mao and surrounds them with environments that are by turns disturbing, comic, and mundane in his Four Seasons series of 1991. In each of four oil paintings Mao is the literal center of a ring of figures, ranging from admiring, bowing waving his little red book to the metaphorical vitality of its power. The first in the series, Spring (fig. 10-36), appropriates a key icon of the Cultural Revolution: a 1967 oil painting, Chairman Mao Going to Anyuan, showing him as a young Communist organizer of striking workers in the 1920s. In that oil painting, reproduced by the millions and displayed everywhere during those years, the young Mao is shown as a heroic figure overshadowing the mountains as he leads a study class in dialectical materialism. Liu Dahong's image moves his instantly recognizable icon toward full deification, with a radiant halo and golden rays emanating from his upraised palm, beneath a sky alive with auspicious dragons. Through an oil painting, this image brilliantly appropriates the imagery of the traditional Chinese mind, with contorted cypress trees and contorted dragons dominating a landscape of towering hills and the rising sun. Mao's acolytes are a motley assortment of peasants and adventurers, and the skeleton grasping the tree trunk suggests the darker side of Mao's ascension.

Following the economic liberalizations promoted in the 1980s by Premier Deng Xiaoping, and with the recognition that PRC politics are certainly about economic life, many artists turned to consumerism as a target for satire. The social changes that accompanied the move from a public ethic of self-sacrifice, austerity, and frugality of dress and restraint of consumer desire under Mao to an ethic of encouragement of growth through advertising, status symbols, and consumption were disorienting in their speed and redirection. Wang Guangyi (b. 1956) shrewdly juxtaposes the advertising logos of global consumer-products corporations with the equally ubiquitous worker/peasant/soldier iconography of the Cultural Revolution years in his Great Criticism Series: Coca-Cola (c. 1993, fig. 10-37). Political propaganda is shown to have been the advertising of the Mao years, equally amenable to being transformed into the accessible visual language of Pop art, yet the stern purposes of the figures turned toward planting the red flag of revolution on the financially former Iron Wing of a brand-name banner. An installation by Wang Jin (b. 1962) called Ice Wall: Central China (January 28, 1997) was a public art project commemorating the opening of the first shopping mall in the central Chinese city of Zhengzhou. Here Jin Wang built a wall of ice within which he embedded popular consumer objects such as cell phones and jewelry, temporarily visible in the manner of department store display windows, yet frustratingly beyond reach. The project offered a materialization of the Marxist idea of the commodity fetish, while alluding to the "great walls" of ideology and economic development that had kept China frozen out of the flow of the global consumer economy. A work in ice made to last only a season, the work was in any case bound to melt, exhibiting its own premature destruction as visitors hacked at it apparently to liberate the goods within.

The free-market conception of art is carried to a further stage in the work of the Shanghai conceptual artist Zhou Tiehai (b. 1966), who offered himself as traded shares on the Shanghai Stock Exchange. The visual content of his work included stock charts tracking his rising value on the market, along with mock covers of international news and financial magazines touting his success. His slogan "The relations in the art world are the same as the relations between states in the post


Coca-Cola

[illegible] of exported arts and of European artists active at the Manchu court. In some cases these were completely hybrid cultural and hybrid products. The distinction between earlier [illegible] and even technically [illegible] international artists by [illegible] Chinese and foreign hands mostly on the relative stability of locations of production and consumption. Earlier international arts were largely produced at specific points of origin and aimed at particular audiences or markets in [illegible] of the West. Twentieth-century transnational artistic movements may involve artists of Western, Japanese and Chinese subjects and traditions in the production of hybrid environments such as the [illegible] of these and other foreign communities in Shanghai, which audiences found among [illegible] and international circuits [illegible] the world.

The sartorial [illegible] attached to the twentieth century was foreshadowed at the end of the nineteenth century in the Dianshizhai huabao, published in Shanghai from 1884 to 1898 by the Englishman Frederick Major mentioned above. In emulation of periodicals such as The Illustrated London News, Wu Yuru and many other artists produced lithographic illustrations with evocative Chinese explanatory texts, but they drew their subjects from domestic and foreign sources in a mixture of news and fantasy, emphasizing crimes, disasters and calamities. In the same manner as the Fengyuge huabao illustrations by the same artist reproduced above (see fig. 0.2 and page 385), executed in a detailed, representational style, the drawings made abundant use of perspectival techniques while the subjects blended the here and now of specific places, names and dates with the transitional media space [illegible].

One of the earliest elite arts at a conscious synthesis of Western realism and Chinese traditions appeared among a group centred in Guangzhou in far south China and known by following another name for the region, as the Lingnan school. Guangzhou (Canton) has a long history as the major port for international trade and site for European cultural incursions in the mid-Qing period, and many leading reformists in the years leading up to the fall of the imperial system and founding of the Republic came from there as well, including the founder of the Republic, Sun Yat-sen (1866–1925), Gao Jianfu (1879–1951), the leading painter in the Lingnan school and a follower of Sun Yat-sen, joined Sun's Revolutionary Alliance Society, dedicated to the overthrow of the Qing dynasty, while studying art in Tokyo in 1906. Gao's revolutionary involvement [illegible] after he returned to Guangzhou [illegible] extended [illegible] organization [illegible] a conspiracy group aimed at setting off dangerous fireworks and overseeing bomb production for the revolutionaries. The incorporation of art themes with violent revolutionary politics may seem incongruous to [illegible] but for Gao Jianfu and his associates art and politics were equally necessary elements of a programme of national reform. As we have seen above, Japan, the [illegible] appeared using models of modernization and Western culture without sacrificing cultural identities. The Nanhua [illegible] modern Japanese-style painting artists with whom Gao and his associates studied in Japan followed a related strategy of blending Japanese themes and media with Western techniques of realistic representation. The Chinese counterpart of that strategy promoted by the Lingnan painters was the goal of a New National Painting (Xin guohua) that would blend Chinese traditional media with an accessible realism of style. This was in many ways a pictorial parallel to the vernacular literature May Fourth movement that aimed at freeing [illegible] from old [illegible] and class boundedness. A strong sense of social mission [illegible] both movements. In 1912 Gao Jianfu opened the Aesthetics Bookshop in Shanghai and briefly published The True Record Pictorial Magazine as a vehicle for his theories. His paintings such as Flying in the Rain (fig. 10.39) acknowledge modern technologies while insisting on a recognizable Chinese cultural memory, with airplanes that hover were a trusty pilot and scape perhaps deliberately evoking misidentification as dragon flies.

A much more thoroughgoing involvement with European modernisms emerged briefly in 1930s Shanghai and Guangzhou, spearheaded by artists who had experienced Japan or Europe. The

[illegible]

[illegible] such [illegible]

[illegible] 1924 and [illegible]

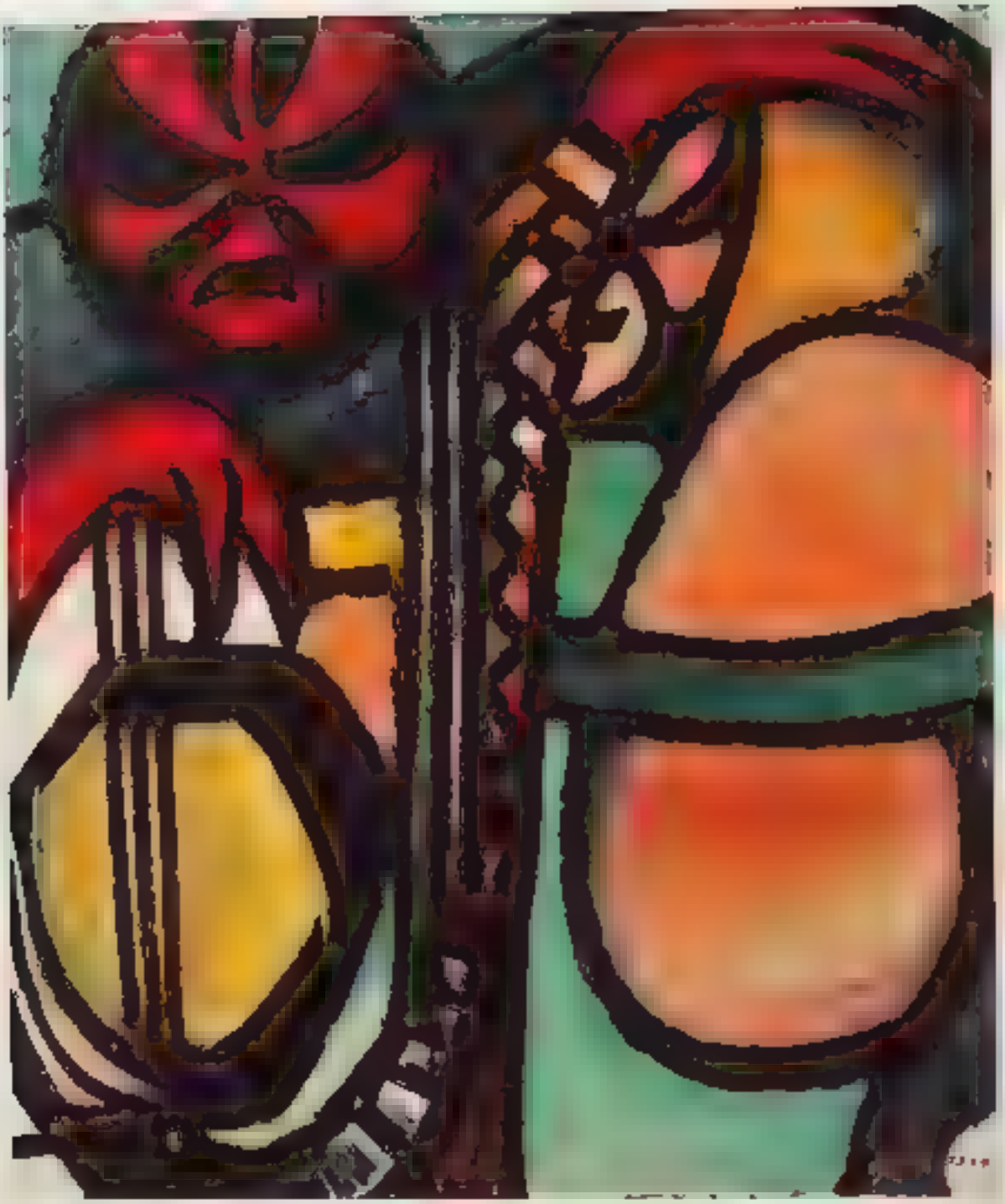
[illegible] theoretical and pedagogical aspects of Mod[illegible]

[illegible] ng a wide range of experiences and the [illegible]

[illegible] Paris and Shanghai with some traditional [illegible] techniques. An illustrations pla[illegible] photomontage from the 1934 issue of the Shanghai [illegible] experience filled dislocated Shanghai in Eng[illegible]

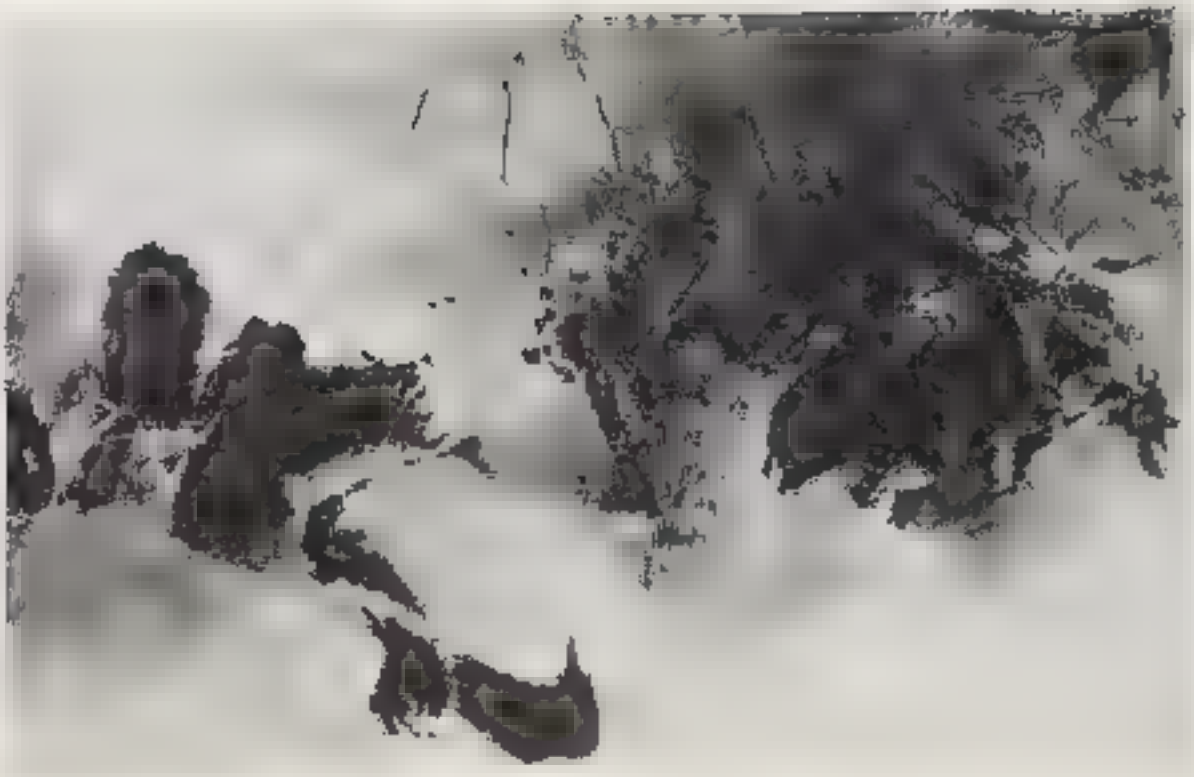
[illegible] reflects the [illegible]

10.39 Gao Jianfo [illegible] the Rain



[illegible]


激刺的電發



artists so identified as Chinese but [illegible] work [illegible]

[illegible] by the common assumption by Western audiences that such art must have a politically discernible purpose.

Though the issue of Chinese identity becomes increasingly less relevant for artists who successfully operate within a global art marketing and exhibition systems, the small, dark, poetic works have sometimes been placed in an ideological context that is in the work of artists such as Wenda Gu [illegible]

[illegible] 1980's experimental [illegible] the United Nations [illegible]

Romanticalness has stone amongst invoking [illegible] dens [illegible]

THE ARTS OF HISTORY

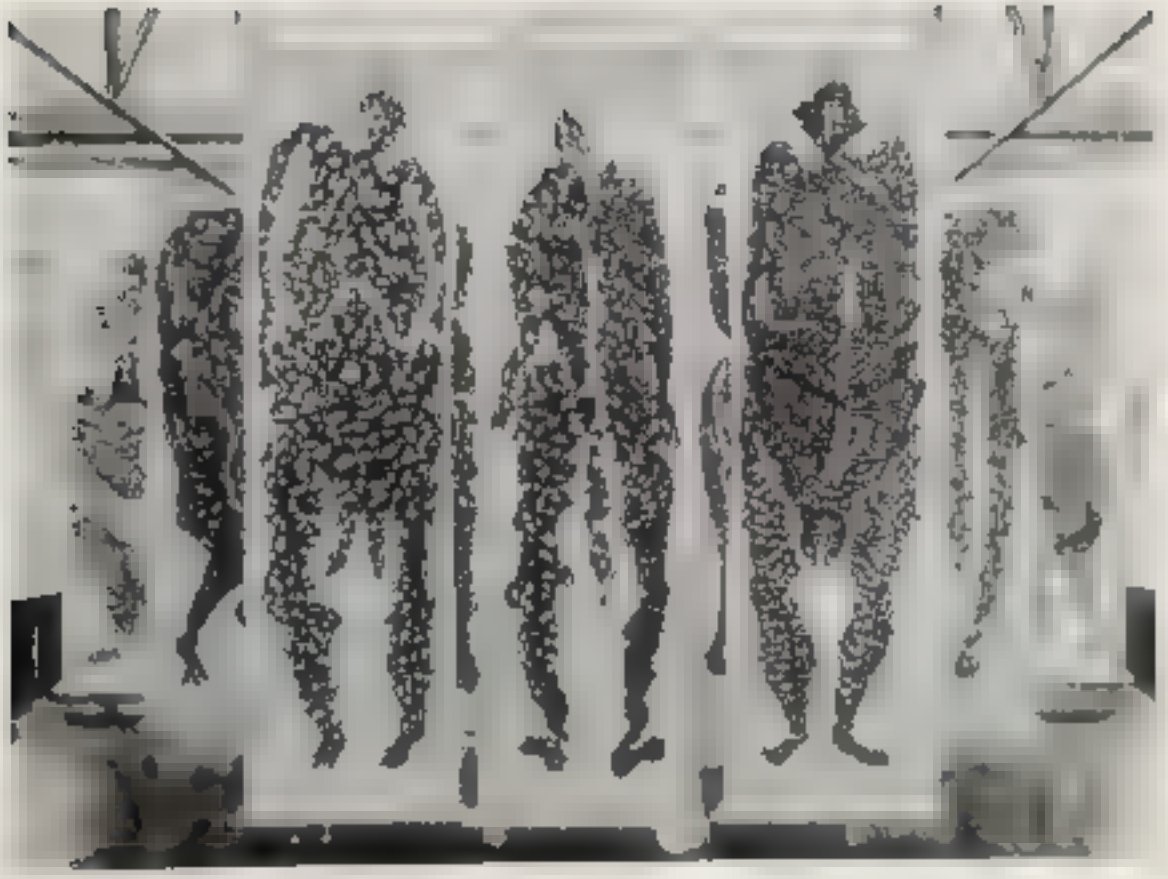
It seems appropriate to a written history of art to conclude with a discussion of the arts of [illegible] and language. The last two centuries have [illegible] lines of social and cultural [illegible]

[illegible] monuments to provide a treasure-house of cultural as well as to serve contemporary political needs. The political transition from imperial dynasty to nation-state in the years around 1911 required not only the invention of a new apparatus of government and new concepts of personal identity but also new narratives of history which could accommodate changed [illegible] and values. The dramatic archaeological discovery of [illegible] remains of a long-dynasty capital and the rediscovery of the Dunhuang Buddhist cave-temples with [illegible] texts were unprecedented in their [illegible] and every [illegible] the years since has made use of such discoveries for [illegible] purposes. The presentation and re-presentation of archaeological discoveries offer a particularly potent [illegible] in ideological construction because deep history and prehistory are imbued with an aura of [illegible] origins. It is little wonder that archaeological sites and artefacts [illegible] such as [illegible] have become overtaken with theme-park mythologies of [illegible]. It is possible to see [illegible] multiple representations of the site without ever seeing the actual excavations and their recovered contents. Museum displays and the historical epics, novels and narratives that construct are another primary vehicle for [illegible] stories.

Starting in eighteenth-century China, the conscious study of historical and textual tradition through the application of epigraphic [illegible] evolved into techniques of analysis in which tradition was not simply accepted as an [illegible] inherited environment but was subjected to a distanciating and [illegible] that marks the beginnings of an [illegible] modernity. Turn-of-the-[illegible] century archaeology and engagement with Western historiographic perspectives are further components of this process. In the visual arts, an awareness of the [illegible] and corruption of the inherited past in engagement with the deep history of [illegible] forms and primitivist impulses were also related phenomena.

A very plain-spoken manifestation of this complex of interests is found in some of the early pottery wares produced in the Yixing district on the western side of Lake Tai, across from Suzhou in Jiangsu Province in south-eastern China. A center of [illegible] production since [illegible] at least since [illegible] the early Yuan [illegible] was near-unique in [illegible] advanced [illegible] stoneware, combining an awareness of [illegible] with [illegible] and [illegible] styles and specialized [illegible]. The [illegible] also implied a pursuit of [illegible] and [illegible] in many of the [illegible] eighteenth-century wares, [illegible] elaborate representational [illegible] in which the [illegible] spouts, caps and water dropper are fashioned in the form of [illegible] animals and human heads, [illegible] and [illegible] or other plants and [illegible]. The notable [illegible] to be [illegible] in most commonly published [illegible] known as "purple sand" but including many other [illegible] are ideal for modelling and shaping. Most [illegible] glazed [illegible] are [illegible] decorated with [illegible] designs and calligraphy, making pottery from an artisan's medium [illegible] into a [illegible] form of personal [illegible]. Many other vessels, especially the nineteenth-century reflect the archaeological [illegible] in [illegible] with [illegible] of the shapes of ancient bronze vessels and other antiquities. The knob-shaped teapot illustrated here [illegible] is modelled after the humble form of [illegible] [illegible] drawn [illegible] stone [illegible] inscription. A [illegible] with [illegible] and epigraphic interests, the pot bears seals of its maker, Yang Pengnian, and [illegible] Qian Zhongshu, a calligrapher and connoisseur, both were active in the early nineteenth century. The total geometric simplicity of the vessel shape is appealing, a modern minimalist [illegible] in its own time it [illegible] more [illegible] integrity of ancient [illegible] and sculpture.

The movement known as "stone studies" was an important intellectual [illegible] of [illegible] archaeology, [illegible] from the late eighteenth through the early twentieth centuries. Scholars viewed stone stelae or steles engraved with ancient calligraphic texts, along with other ascribed archaeological artefacts such as [illegible] or [illegible] vessels or stone tombs, as more reliable and direct conduits to the past than the [illegible] books which allowed histories to be constructed over time. In 2011 two stelae and other archaeological texts dating from the distant Zhou through Six Dynas



10.45 Song Dong, [illegible]

burning – traditional artifacts during the Cultural Revolution years and such other acts of destructive and dangerously competitive [illegible] on the occasion of authorities of the Qin, Han, [illegible] empire of China.

Every aspect of national history and language thus seems invited to be recaptured by those very cultural systems. The strenuousness with which many contemporary artists confront the weight of tradition reveals the continuity of the essential [illegible] history of twentieth-century Chinese art. Because so much of Chinese culture has been [illegible] ages, the form of performance – memorization, recitation, repetition of writing – is one of the most powerful resistance [illegible] tradition takes. The form of performance art [illegible] Qin Dynasty Pressed Tile Thousand Times by Qiu Zhijie (b. 1969) [illegible] graphic samples [illegible] over the period from 1966 to 1997. The Qin Dynasty Pressed Tile Project [illegible] a canonical [illegible] calligraphy by the four [illegible] patriarchs of calligraphy, Wang Xi[illegible] endlessly repeated over [illegible] years even though the tradition was long since lost. [illegible]

1 + 1 [illegible] from the satisfaction and [illegible] of such [illegible] are embodied in Qiu's thousand-fold practice of the text on a single piece of paper. That repetition results in a gradual dilution and [illegible] cancellation of the text into a relentless chaos of black ink, suggesting the [illegible] and to which it seemingly must return. A [illegible] ions is his performance Printing on Water by Song Dong (b. 1966) of 1996. [illegible] Seated in the shallow waters of the Liao River in Tieling, Song strokes the flowing surface repeatedly with a large seal carved with the character for water, conveying the absurd [illegible] of controlling the world with language. Carved seals may be the most overtly Chinese of writing, because they imply direct impression and physical contact with the surface. In the East, the notion of a [illegible] performance on a Tibetan river suggests the [illegible] dimension of words as stamp. Tibetan [illegible] the decorative forms of Chinese calligraphy.

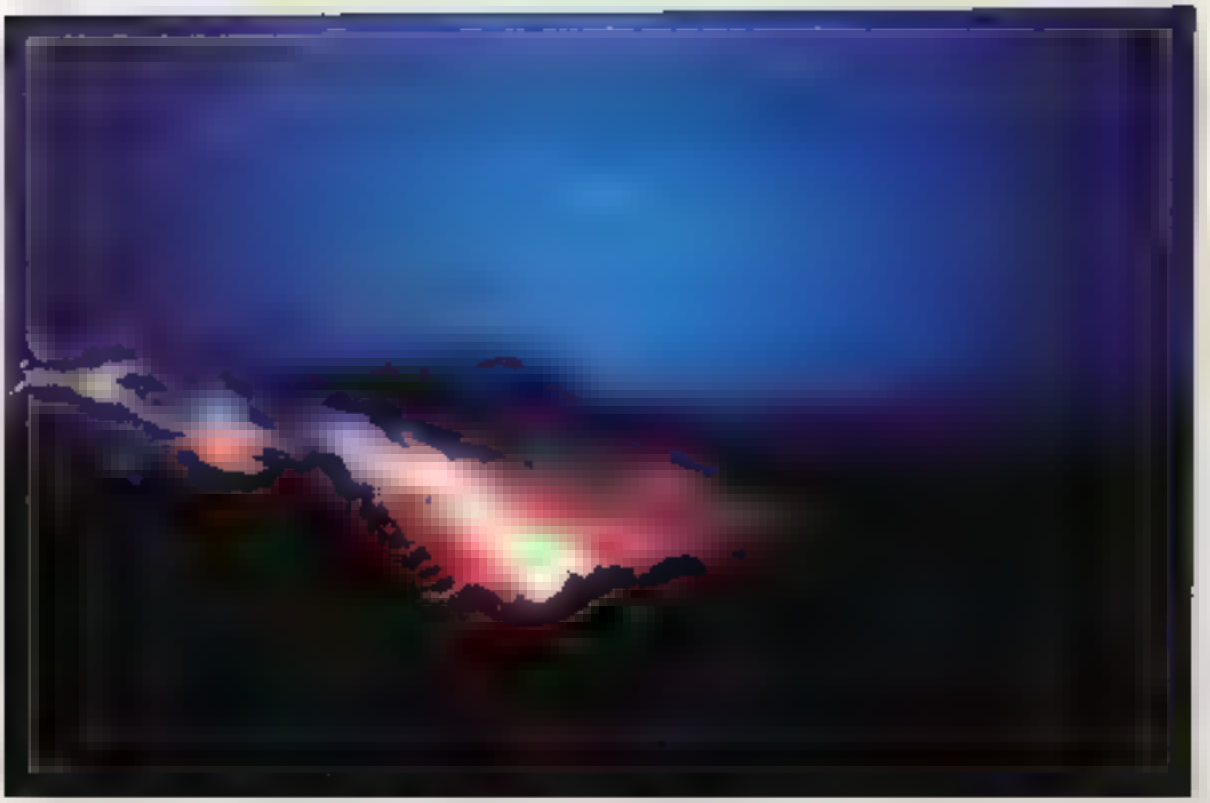
[illegible]

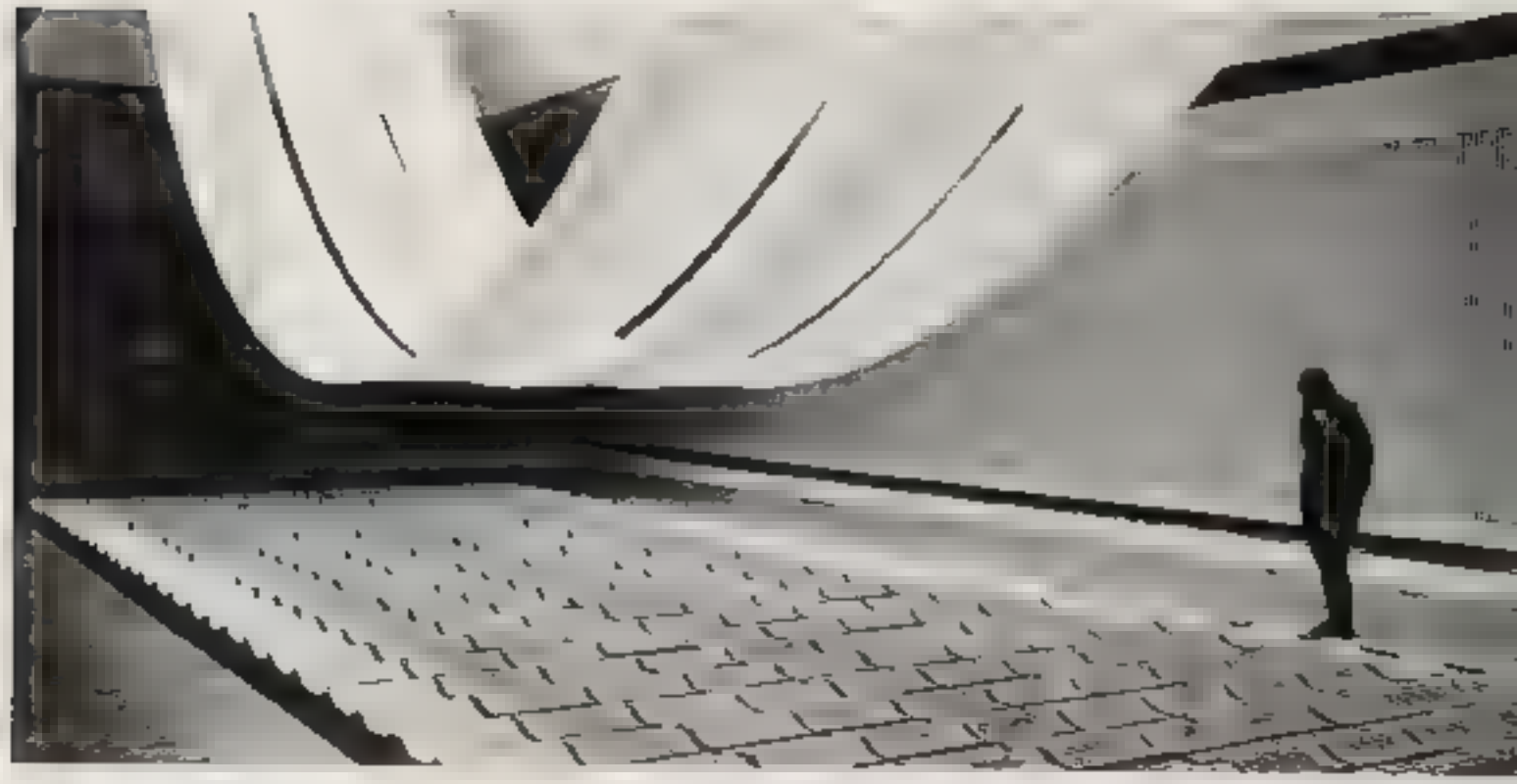
[illegible] and revolutions are arising, he deep historical strug[illegible] [illegible] Everyone [illegible] [illegible] by [illegible] 1957. In his pyrotechnic event, the c[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] an uncloaked audience that moves be[illegible] [illegible] Song Dong's water painting and [illegible] Chang's [illegible] Building suggest a contemporary engagement [illegible] language but also with the most elemental. Dong's never ceases to [illegible]

[illegible] by Xu Bing [illegible] 1995 [illegible] as *A Book from the Sky* [illegible] a kind of [illegible] language [illegible] They also have a fundamental [illegible] power that is better conveyed [illegible] [illegible] as *A Mirror to A[illegible]* [illegible] as

[illegible] recently [illegible] pieces. These take the refusal [illegible] of a thousand or more characters, each personal [illegible] both [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] The [illegible] traditionally belong[illegible] [illegible] panels of dense wa[illegible] [illegible] banners [illegible] suspended, pronouncing abo[illegible] [illegible] all encompassing [illegible] [illegible] remains just beyond [illegible]

[illegible] ing over [illegible] the street [illegible] newspapers and official pronouncements. The [illegible] [illegible] The appearance of the Obsi[illegible] version of *A Book from the Sky* [illegible] frequently [illegible] permissiveness and repression of [illegible] has encouraged a read[illegible] a protest against the corruption and abuse of lan[illegible] guage in the political arena. Many [illegible]





GLOSSARY

Amitabha [illegible] Buddha who presides over the Western Pure Land; Buddha of Infinite Light

antiquarianism The study of objects from the past, which in the mind of the antiquarian was an activity that supplemented and corrected the received historical record by the investigation of material objects, especially ritual bronze vessels and [illegible]

archaeological culture A concept created by archaeologists to identify a collection of data derived from a site or group of sites with a human group

artifact See artifact

assemblage An archaeological term for a group of objects found in association with one another and in a context from which one may infer [illegible] cultural relationships

Avalokiteśvara [illegible]

Bai Di A non-Han northern people who founded the state of Zhongshan in the Spring and Autumn period

bei A stone monumental with inscribed text and/or images

bi A jade disk, usually made from a [illegible] that was used for ritual and ceremonial purposes. It is traditionally interpreted as the symbol of heaven

bian xiang transformation tableaux; illusory compositions, many of which survive in Buddhist grottoes

bodhisattva [illegible] A name applied to a god-like being including those placed along the spirit path

Bodhidharma [illegible] The First Patriarch of Chan Buddhism, an Indian or Sogdian monk who is traditionally believed to have transmitted Chan from India to China

bodhisattva A being whose nature and enlightenment [illegible] as in the historical Buddha is prior to his final enlightenment

bracket cluster dou gong A combination of blocks (dou) and arms (gong), usually atop a column, that serves to transmit the roof weight to the column grid and foundation

bronze [illegible] an alloy of copper, tin, and lead that was in use by the early second millennium BCE

celadon A Buddhist [illegible] spirits by which [illegible]

camel hump A scallopped wooden block that carries an arm, beam, or purlin

Cao Cao 155–220 [illegible] A general of the late Han dynasty who took part in the coup of 189 [illegible] and later consolidated his own kingdom, the Wei, in northern China

celadon European term for any high-fired green-glaze ware, applied especially to Yue, Yaozhou, and longquan [illegible]

chiefdom A regional polity with a leader (chief) who is usually hereditary, characterized by status differentiation, specialized production, and elite control of wealth

Chan A Buddhist sect that emphasizes meditation and personal transmission of doctrine, traditionally believed to have been transmitted from India by Bodhidharma, but possibly of Chinese origin. Its Japanese form is Zen

chuanxi A Chan term for ritual portraits of priests, which may have served as documents of the transmission of doctrine from master to pupil

chinoiserie European styles of the

[illegible] centuries, had made ceramic vessels in East and Southeast Asia. [illegible] also used.

chi wen ("owl's chi") A late architectural ornament that [illegible] the ridge of the roof tiles.

Cizhou ware Stonewares produced at many kilns across north [illegible] China [illegible] the Song, Jin, Yuan, Ming periods. Decorative techniques include slip painting, beneath transparent glaze, incising, sgraffito, carving of layers of slip in contrasting colors, and cut glaze in white, black, brown, and subtle hues green and red colors.

clerical script (lishu) A script type that emerged during the early empire, derived from the brush writing in everyday use. It was named after the clerks who produced such writings.

cloisonné A technique in which colored glass paste was fired in [illegible] and decorative cells known as "cloisons" (French for "partitions") outlined by copper or bronze wires on the surface of metal vessels or objects.

cong A squared hollow tube, usually made from a semi-precious stone, and traditionally interpreted as the symbol of Earth. Most common in the Liangzhu Culture of the lower Yangzi.

Cultural Revolution A movement which lasted from 1966 to 1976, launched by Mao Zedong to remove party rivals through the mobilization of millions of young people known as Red Guards.

cursive script (caoshu) An informal writing, characterized by its rapid execution, many simplifications in orthography, and ligatures connecting graphs in sequence; also called "grass" or "draft" script.

Dazu A region of Tantric Buddhism and the site of Buddhist cave temples and carvings dating from the Tang to Qing dynasties, located northwest of the city of Chongqing, Sichuan province.

dharma (Chinese *fa*) The Sanskrit term for the "teachings" or "law" of the Buddha and, by extension, the Buddhist faith and community in general.

Di "High God" or "the ancestor" shang oracle bone inscriptions.

Dian Kingdom and people in the region of Lake Dian, Yunnan province, during the Warring States and Han periods.

dilaoqing ("underground palace") A Daoist crypt, especially one with [illegible] chambers.

doucai ("joined colors" or "contrasting colors") A type of porcelain decoration that combines underglaze blue outlines with filled-in overglaze enamel colors.

dui Zhou-period text, part of a set concerned with ancestral temples of the royal lineage.

Eight Buddhist Emblems Eight objects associated in various ways with Buddhism that are frequently used as designs in ceramics and other objects—jar, conch shell, parasol, canopy, lotus, wheel, fish, and knot.

fang A walled residential ward within a city grid.

fang guo A general term for the states or chiefdoms bordering the Shang, or mains recorded in the oracle bone inscriptions.

fengshui ("wind and water") Chinese cosmology, principles of siting buildings, graves, etc. with regard to the propitious or harmful influences of landscape formations.

flash gilding A technique for brushing gold on the surface of metal objects, in which mercury was used.

Fu Xi and Nu Wa Mythological beings often represented in Han art and believed to be the male and female progenitors of the human race.

ge Bronze blade mounted at right angles to a shaft and used for slashing and hacking. It was one of the main weapons of the Shang and Zhou armies.

Gong cheng ("palace city") The area of the imperial palaces in Tang Chang'an, located on axis at the north of the city.

Great Leap Forward A movement launched by Mao Zedong in May 1958 to collectivize agriculture and increase industrial production.

guan ("visualization") A meditative practice in which the devotee [illegible] using visualizations.

Guan ware [illegible] ware with special reference to a Southern Song [illegible] ware made at kilns in Hangzhou.

Guanyin Sanskrit: Avalokiteśvara. The bodhisattva of compassion, one of the attributes of Amitābha Buddha and a popular object of devotion throughout East Asia.

guohua National-style painting. A term in reference for painting using rice paper, silk, and ink, media, materials, and themes as an alternative to Western-style painting.

Grand Bureau A ministry official of the Song dynasty, author of Tuhua jianwen zhi (An Account of Painting Experiences in Painting), an account of painters active between 841 and 1074, completed sometime around 1080.

hangtu Hard-pounded earth, an aluminous building material for fortifications and other uses in Bronze Age China.

Hare A female lunar deity who developed out of a hare rich but was converted by the Buddha and renounced her former ways. An example of a folk deity absorbed into the Buddhist pantheon.

Heartbound print A term used by scholar-bureaucrats who artists to order paintings that were thought to reveal the mind or personality of the painter.

Hou Ji ("Lord Millet") Legendary ancestor of the royal Zhou lineage.

Hua–Xia A term coined in Zhou times to refer to the people and culture of the central states.

Huang cheng (imperial city) The area south of the palace in Tang [illegible] ministries and other regions of state.

Huineng (638–713) One of two [illegible] for the [illegible] of Chan Buddhism, traditionally known as the founder of the southern school of Chan.

I-hsyphallic An image that presents the phallus.

jadeite A semi-transparent variety of jade, [illegible] greenish glassy in appearance. It was still used [illegible] China.

jiaguwen See oracle bone inscriptions.

Jian ware A type of sturdy stoneware favored by [illegible] in China and Japan, glazed in black, brown, and [illegible]. Best produced in Fujian in the Song period. Characteristic types include "hare's fur" and "oil spot," each produced when excess iron in the slip precipitates out during cooling.

jinshu (ruled ink painting) A style of painting in which [illegible] colors and the brush were used to produce precise and delicate images of man-made constructions such as [illegible].

jin wen (writings on metal) A term for inscriptions on bronze ritual vessels and also used to [illegible] a major branch of traditional Chinese calligraphy.

Jurchen A semi-nomadic people who founded the Jin dynasty (1115–1234) in the north of modern-day China and forced the Song government south of the Yangtze River in 1127.

kalpa A Buddhist term for a great age.

kaolin "China clay." A white clay mostly silicon dioxide and aluminum oxide with few impurities, which is an essential ingredient in porcelain.

kami (Japanese, from the Chinese [illegible]) A nonsensical or paradoxical question [illegible] of the Buddhism. A [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] and [illegible] a practical understanding.

kasagaddha (Dh. [illegible]) An incense bowl [illegible] in a monk's [illegible] or [illegible] political [illegible].

Kuomintang See Nationalist Party.

kuang (Jap.) A style of cursive script known as "crazy cursive" script.

li [illegible] (ritual, [illegible]) and [illegible] as formulated by Confucius [illegible] the [illegible].

ling (Jap. [illegible]) Essentially [illegible] an imperial burial.

logographic script A writing system that uses conventionalized signs to represent words, often referred to as "Chinese characters."

Longquan ware A particularly [illegible] celadon ware with a glassy body and thick green glaze, first produced in Zhejiang Province in the Song period. Decorated with incised [illegible] and molded and full sculptural designs.

lost wax casting A process of bronze casting in which a wax positive model, after being surrounded by clay, the wax is melted out, leaving an empty mold for the molten metal to fill.

Lotus Sutra "The Lotus of universal [illegible]," [illegible] by the Buddha in Vulture Peak, the [illegible] Buddhism.

lunkin Sanskrit, literal: "The major followers of the Buddha who [illegible] to remain alive to preserve his teachings."

Mahasattvapratipada Dashi [illegible]. A great Bodhisattva, [illegible] an attendant [illegible] Amitabha Buddha.

mandorla A halo around the body of a Buddha or deity.

Manjusri Wenshu. The great Bodhisattva of wisdom, patron whose holy mountain is Mt. Wutai, Shanxi.

material culture The whole range of things made by humans, both [illegible] simple [illegible] to complex [illegible] of the [illegible] or smallest, most [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] category of evidence for studying the [illegible] culture [illegible] chronological technique.

matriineal A matrilineal [illegible] social organization, in which women occupy a privileged place in society and descent is reckoned through [illegible] Chinese Miao, [illegible] and prehistoric [illegible] [illegible] changed due to the [illegible] [illegible] political social [illegible].

Medicine Buddha School A sect of [illegible] Buddhism devoted to intense meditation regimens involving [illegible] as a means of attaining [illegible].

Meissen City in Germany, home of a ceramic factory founded in [illegible] first produced a European version of porcelain.

mi se (secret color) A fine grade of Yue ware produced during late Tang and Five Dynasties.

moon terrace A large open elevated platform or [illegible].

Nationalist Party The political party which governed China from [illegible] to 1949 [illegible] dominated politics in Taiwan for several decades after the defeat of Nationalist forces by the Communist army in 1949 forced the removal of the Republic [illegible].

nephrite A tough fibrous mineral that was the favored material for prehistoric Chinese hardstones.

Northern and Southern School theory A theory of the history of painting associated with Dong Qichang which divided painters into two lineages, the Northern and Southern—categories which were borrowed from a Chan Buddhist division between Northern "gradualist" and Southern "sudden enlightenment" sects.

oracle-bone inscriptions [illegible] inscribed on the turtle shell and ox scapulae as part of Late Shang divination

pagoda A tower-like structure housing a relic or other deposit, derived from the Indian stupa

Parinirvana [illegible] The "final nirvana" or death of the historical Buddha

patrilineal A pattern of descent in which kinship is traced through the male line, so that a person belongs to the father's group and descent is reckoned through fathers. Chinese Marxist archaeologists and prehistorians used the phrase "patrilineal" all the time to describe a changeover from matrilineal to patrilineal social organization

patrimonialism A state in which kinship bonds are the key qualification for positions of administration, as in proto-bureaucratic [illegible]

pecunise China stone. See *Dunze* (white briquettes), a white feldspathic stone used in making porcelain, which aids in the process of vitrification

pingdan Blandness or simplicity; [illegible] was considered a virtue to be a desirable quality in [illegible] literary writing, painting, etc.

porcelain A high-fired ceramic made from white clay (kaolin) which yields a glass-like, resonant, and translucent body

Potaraka The island home of Guanyin believed to be located off the southern coast of India, near Sri Lanka, recently identified with Mount Putuo off the coast of Zhejiang Province

pre-casting casting on. The casting of an element of a bronze object such as a handle before casting the object itself. The pre-cast piece is then inserted into the mold assembly for the object and is cast on when the alloy for that object is poured

purlin A small beam in the roof frame that runs parallel to the ridge pole and supports the rafters

qilin Mythical animal with a single horn, usually placed on the spirit path

Qidan Khitan. A semi-nomadic people who established a kingdom in the northern border of Song-period China, which was given the dynastic name of Liao [illegible]

qingbai [illegible] ware with a blue-tinged glaze first produced in Jiangxi Province in the early [illegible] and may have incised or molded designs

que Gate-tower commonly in front of buildings in Qin and Han times. Surviving examples in stone are the most common extant architecture from that early period

Queen Mother of the West Xiwangmu. Mythical being interpreted in Han times as a western goddess and especially popular in the later Han period

rebus A punning reference to one thing or concept using an image or word with a similar name or sound

regular script [illegible] The most formal of the five styles of Chinese calligraphy, the others being cursive and running scripts

repoussé A technique of hammering metal from the rear to raise the front surface

Ru ware An exceptionally fine stoneware with black-gray-blue glaze first produced for the Northern Song court at Kaifeng in Henan Province

running script xingshu. Also called semi-cursive, this script style has some abbreviations but retains its legibility; it was a major script type from the time of the Two Kingdoms onwards

Sakyamuni Sage of the Sakyas. An honorific name for the historical Buddha, Siddhartha Gautama, who was a member of the Sakya tribe

Sasanian Dynasty Imperial dynasty that ruled Persia (modern Iran and neighbouring areas) from 224 to 651

secondary burial A term for multiple skeletons recovered from a burial or the cremated remains

second-piece mold casting A technique of bronze casting using several piece molds segmented with an inner core. Typical of Shang and Zhou bronze production

serial ions Indices sequences constructed of successive numbers rounded data reflecting change over time and/or space. Serial ions are useful in pottery analysis for establishing relative chronologies

shaman A person endowed with special gifts for communication with spirits or disembodied souls. Shamans have been the ritual workers in Chinese culture since antiquity. Although shamans are widely assumed to have been part of much ancient Chinese religious ceremony

shanshui Mountains and water. A generic term for landscape

shi Originally a warrior, the lowest stratum within the elite of the Eastern Zhou period

Silk Road A term coined in Europe to describe the trade routes crossing modern day Xinjiang along the margins of the Tarim Basin. It was also used to designate the manifold trade and other relations between China, Persia, and India and Western Asia during the Han–Tang period

"Six Laws" liufa. Successive sets of political prescriptions for governing first promulgated in Xue Hee Gao [illegible] in 1135

slender gold A style of calligraphy associated with Emperor Huizong [illegible] in the Song dynasty characterized by [illegible] lines and sharp hooks

small seal script xiaozhuan. A type of script developed during the Qin period as a standard for the new empire and ascribed to Li Si

Sogdia A region and state north of the Oxus River in the modern-day Uzbek Republic

soul tax hun qian. Grave-ware money

[illegible] vessels shaped like bowls which were popular during the Southern Dynasties

spirit objects Objects made or burned in honor of spirits or the dead, including vessels and figurines [illegible] scenes of [illegible]

spirit path [illegible] The processional approach to a tomb site, lined with stone carvings

Stars A group of painters [illegible] who in 1979 displayed their works outside the Chinese National Art Gallery, Beijing

stoneware A kind of fired clay vessel [illegible] degrees [illegible] grade ceramic that is not fully vitrified, hence non-[illegible] [illegible] divided with a [illegible] [illegible] green or brown glaze

stupa [illegible] An Indian sacred mound [illegible] by Buddhists [illegible] a relic or a [illegible] of the Buddha's [illegible]

Sukhavati The [illegible] Pure Land [illegible] the Buddha

sutra [illegible] The holy texts, works, and teachings of the Buddha

Tabgatch Tuoba [illegible] A Turkic people who founded the Northern Wei dynasty

"The Three Friends of Winter" A traditional grouping of pine, bamboo, and flowering plum [illegible] of lasting perseverance through adversity

Tian Heaven [illegible] The all-powerful sky deity of the Zhou

Tiananmen The Gate of Heavenly Peace, which stands at the southern entrance to the Forbidden City and just north of Tiananmen Square, the location of many major government [illegible] buildings and the site of frequent student protests [illegible] supported [illegible] opposition to the government [illegible]

toad [illegible] A mythical animal with [illegible] horns, especially placed along the spirit path

tuo Brush-written documents of [illegible] autography, but not [illegible] [illegible] and woodblock prints of [illegible]

tshava [illegible] Sources of the Buddha [illegible] Avalokitesvara [illegible]

type site An archaeological [illegible] that [illegible] locally [illegible] [illegible] representative [illegible] of it

ukiyo-e Pictures of the floating world. Paintings [illegible] depicting urban scenes [illegible] entertainment and pleasure quarters, produced during the Edo and subsequent periods of Japan

Vairocana [illegible] The cosmic Buddha of the Avatamsaka [illegible]

Vajrapanis Bodhisattva Tian [illegible] The guardian king of the Northern Quadrant

wa de zhe dush A [illegible] wall and roof construction consisting of interwoven branches [illegible] that were then plastered with mud [illegible]

Xing ware A stoneware with white glaze made in North China from the Sui period onward, which derives its name from Xingzhou [illegible] Province

Xiongnu Steppe people who are [illegible] mentioned in [illegible] the [illegible] Mongolia and [illegible] shape [illegible]

Yan'an Talks Remarks on cultural policy [illegible] the Communist party given by Mao Zedong in May 2 [illegible] Yan'an

Yaozhou ware A stoneware with greenish body and usually decorated with a [illegible] glaze [illegible] produced in Yaozhou Prefecture in the Tang period. Carved and [illegible] [illegible] colour widely used

yi A [illegible] [illegible] spirits [illegible] a set [illegible]

yi pin [illegible] class. A special classification outside the normal [illegible] [illegible] which was given to painters whose [illegible]

Yue ware A green-glazed stoneware produced in Zhejiang Province [illegible] the second [illegible]

yuan [illegible] A desirable quality of [illegible] spontaneity [illegible] of [illegible] and resonance with nature—[illegible] personal [illegible] creative work

zong [illegible] A term used to designate major strands of Tang Buddhism, such as Chan, [illegible] and their [illegible]

Zong Bing 375–443 A painter, Buddhist [illegible] and author of an early text on painting, Hua shanshui xu [illegible] Painting landscape

zoomorphic Of animal form or feature, such [illegible] are often found on Shang objects

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

The readings recommended below are a selection of the current literature in English most have proven useful in teaching and/or as sources for studies of these topics. A significant [illegible] in the literature grows ever more difficult in Chinese.

CHAPTER 1

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Jacket front: Attributed to Zhou Fang, *Ladies with Flowers in Their Hair* (detail). Tang, late 8th–early 9th century, in a 10th-century copy. Ink and pigments on silk, 18 x 69" (45.5 x 175.5 cm). Liaoning Provincial Museum, Shenyang.

Jacket back: Fang Lijun, *Series II, No. 6*, 1991–92. Oil on canvas, 6'7" x 6'7" (2 x 2 m). Private collection.

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